CAMBODIA SHAKEN BY MOUNTING CIVIL WAR

— see page 14

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interests of the Working People

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New Chicano party gains Texas victories

Photos by Antonio Camejo

Farm workers and children in Crystal City, Texas. Their new La Raza Unida Party is beginning to win elections and change conditions. Special feature starts on page 9.

Kent State U -- 1970; Tehran U -- 1953

A remarkable parallel

University Park, Pa.

The gunfire at Kent State University revives old, dreadful memories of a tragic day in December 1953 at Tehran University. The parallel is remarkable and the circumstances are similar: National Guards here, Imperial Guards there—both groups convinced of the wickedness of the students, here accused of being un-American, there of sacrilege—under the tension of protest opened fire indiscriminately and murdered four students at Kent State and three students at Tehran University.

The incident at Tehran occurred on Dec. 9, 1953, when Richard M. Nixon, then Vice-President of the U. S., arrived in Tehran on the heels of the CIA-directed coup of Aug. 19 against the popular national government of Dr. Mohammad Mossadegh.

At the time of Nixon's arrival, opposition to the regime was at a high point and the University acted as a center of resistance. The military government of the Shah, trying to impress the U. S. envoy of its determination to suppress resistance to the military rule and therefore to pave the way for an early oil settlement which would effectively annul the 1951 Nationalization Law of the oil industry and yield the Iranian oil to Western interests, ordered preventive measures against any demonstrations in the University and created the above-mentioned incidents.

The shooting in Tehran and subsequent repressive measures destroyed momentarily those last efforts to restore freedom and independence to Iran. We believe the incident in Kent

Letters from our readers

This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.

of all the neocolonialized cultures of the world such as Iran.

Ahmad Jabbari
Penn State Iranian Students Ass'n

Wants to sell Militant

West Palm Beach, Fla.

I subscribed to your paper after reading several copies I had borrowed from a friend. I would like to try selling *The Militant* here. Would you send me about 25 copies of your next issue so that I can see how the people in my area respond?

C. S.

Navy occupation of island challenged

Chicago, Ill.

Culebra, an island a few miles east of Puerto Rico, has become a target for

pation and the bombardment of their homeland.

Their fight in the courts, however, has only resulted in a ruling that "it is within the authority of Congress and the discretion of the President to continue using Culebra as a military base and in no way constitutes a violation of property rights and free movements of its residents."

The constant shelling of the surrounding coasts and countryside of the island has resulted in serious ecological damage. Thousands of dead birds nesting on the northwest point and literally hundreds of thousands of dead fish can be found on the beaches after a bombing manuever.

According to the Jones Act of 1917, the Culebrans are so-called American citizens entitled to the protection of democracy and the tranquility of justice. Yet, they have no vote in Congress and are not allowed to vote in the national election. Also, the Fifth Amendment states that "no one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." The Navy now occupies 2,700 of the 7,000 acres of the island, while Culebrans are forced to make their living on the poorer and less developed land.

We call on all Americans to demand that the Administration guarantee the right of the Culebrans to make constructive use of their immediate resources and to establish their own goals without intervention. We say, "Navy, Hands Off Culebra!!"

Anne Martin, coordinator
Hands Off Culebra Assoc.
5425 Dorchester St., #B3

THE MILITANT

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Volume 34 Number 24

Friday, June 19, 1970

Closing news date—June 11

The union had been attacked by the board of education on the grounds that the demand for quality education was a "smokescreen." All the union was really fighting for, claimed the majority of the board, was a 7 percent increase in pay—and an outright "grab for power." In an unusual step, striking teachers voted not only to return to work under a compromise settlement, but to turn down the 5 percent pay increase they had won. They voted to use the money for educational improvement.

Under the agreement, teachers will receive the first comprehensive written contract in a California school district.

The city tried to crush the strike by a court injunction and by threatening students with reprisals. Teachers kept informed of the latest developments through almost daily demonstrations. The largest, held on May Day, was a march and rally of 9,000.

On May 5, Superior Court judge

Mohammad Mossadegh.

At the time of Nixon's arrival, opposition to the regime was at a high point and the University acted as a center of resistance. The military government of the Shah, trying to impress the U. S. envoy of its determination to suppress resistance to the military rule and therefore to pave the way for an early oil settlement which would effectively annul the 1951 Nationalization Law of the oil industry and yield the Iranian oil to Western interests, ordered preventive measures against any demonstrations in the University and created the above-mentioned incidents.

The shooting in Tehran and subsequent repressive measures destroyed momentarily those last efforts to restore freedom and independence to Iran. We believe the incident in Kent does not signify such a reversal, but rather, we hope, is the beginning of an intensified struggle for liberation—not only of the American people but also

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Navy occupation of island challenged

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Culebra, an island a few miles east of Puerto Rico, has become a target for the Navy's most modern and sophisticated non-nuclear weaponry. The people of Culebra have decided to challenge the legality of the military occupation of the national election. Also, the Fifth Amendment states that "no one shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." The Navy now occupies 2,700 of the 7,000 acres of the island, while Culebrans are forced to make their living on the poorer and less developed land.

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Fullerton YSA condemns firebombings

Fullerton, Calif.

The Fullerton Young Socialist Alliance condemns the firebombing of the YSA headquarters in Los Angeles and the burning, a day later, of a building near Strike Headquarters on the Cal State Fullerton campus.

The fire at Cal State Fullerton followed a rally in the campus gymnasium by a group of dissident Orange County citizens objecting to campus antiwar protestors and recent Cal State administrative decisions, notably the decision to allow an antiwar headquarters on campus.

It appears that the fire was set by persons wishing to physically drive the protestors from their headquarters. Apparently, the arsonists were unfamiliar with the campus and mistook the burned building for the headquarters opposite.

The Fullerton YSA also condemns the Cal State administration for its reaction to the burning, which was to evict the protestors from their headquarters and to ban all meetings on campus. This stifling of free speech achieves the very goals the arsonists were seeking.

K. W. Jeter

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Under the agreement, teachers will receive the first comprehensive written contract in a California school district.

The city tried to crush the strike by a court injunction and by threatening students with reprisals. Teachers kept informed of the latest developments through almost daily demonstrations. The largest, held on May Day, was a march and rally of 9,000.

On May 5, Superior Court judge Fargo upheld a temporary restraining order as "legal." Accepting the county counsel's argument that the state legislature did not specifically grant teachers the right to strike, he stated that "teachers have no right whatsoever to strike." A contempt-of-court suit against the teachers' union still pends.

The militant strike forced the board of education to grant significant concessions, focused attention on the deterioration of the L.A. city schools, and forged the beginning of an alliance among students and parents. Interviews with the teachers indicate a newfound sense of unity and strength.

F. P.

Militant posted in student union

Corvallis, Ore.

Your special coverages of the postal strike, Kent State massacre and the Augusta and Jackson mass murders were very newsworthy and revealing. The censorship of the Augusta and Jackson slaughters was especially thorough in the capitalist press. Your coverage, on the other hand, was complete and well documented.

We have posted *The Militant's* coverage of the Jackson and Augusta killings on a special bulletin board dealing with the Indochina escalation and student strike news in the Student Union at Oregon State University.

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It takes Revolutionaries.

IF YOU SUPPORT THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT, THE BLACK LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE BROWN LIBERATION STRUGGLE, THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE FIGHT FOR SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY IN EASTERN EUROPE, A SOCIALIST AMERICA,

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K. W. Jeter

L.A. teachers win first contract

Los Angeles, Calif.

The United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) ended its four-and-a-half-week strike May 13. Strike demands centered around a program for improving education.

The L.A. school system is the second largest in the country. The average class size of 34 is higher than in most big cities. With a proposed $300 million cut in the state education budget over the next three years and a 1971 city budget cut of $42 million, Los Angeles schools face an immediate crisis.

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Enclosed is a check to help finance these or any additional special issues that may of need arise.

David H. Worthington

Problems of

Women's Liberation

A Marxist Approach

By Evelyn Reed

64 pages 95¢

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Unionists aid in publicity

New support for antiwar parley

JUNE 11 — News conferences to announce latest plans on the national antiwar conference in Cleveland June 19-21 were slated to be held today in Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit and Washington, D. C. The news conferences will announce recent added labor support for the Cleveland conference and the prospects this affords for an expanded labor-student struggle against the war in Indochina.

The principal news conference will be in Washington, D. C. Scheduled to participate are Carol Lipman, national executive secretary of the Student Mobilization Committee; Marvin Rogoff of Washington Labor for Peace and chairman of the D. C. caucus of the American Federation of Government Employees Unions; William Simons, president of the D. C. American Federation of Teachers and vice-president of the national AFT; and Tom Turner, president of the Detroit NAACP and president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO.

Statements supporting the conference will be read from Charles Palmer, president of the National Student Association; Katherine Camp, national chairman of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and Jackie Vaughn, state senator from Michigan.

Support has continued to mount from a variety of groups and individuals during the past week. These include Washington, D. C., Labor for Peace, which recently placed a full-page antiwar ad in the *Washington Post* signed by 125 trade unionists; Orie Chambers, chairman of the Black Caucus of Local 481, Newark AFT; New York Movimiento Pro Independencia; Mary Kochiyama of Asian-Americans for Action; Detroit Clergy and Laymen Concerned About Vietnam; and Michigan state senators Jackie Vaughn, Coleman Young and Roger Craig.

The conference was initiated by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council and several Cleveland unionists. These included Leo Fenster, secretary of the Cleveland district council of the United Auto Workers, and Sam Pollack, president of Amalgamated Meat Cutters Local 427. Its purpose will be to discuss and plan future mass antiwar actions.

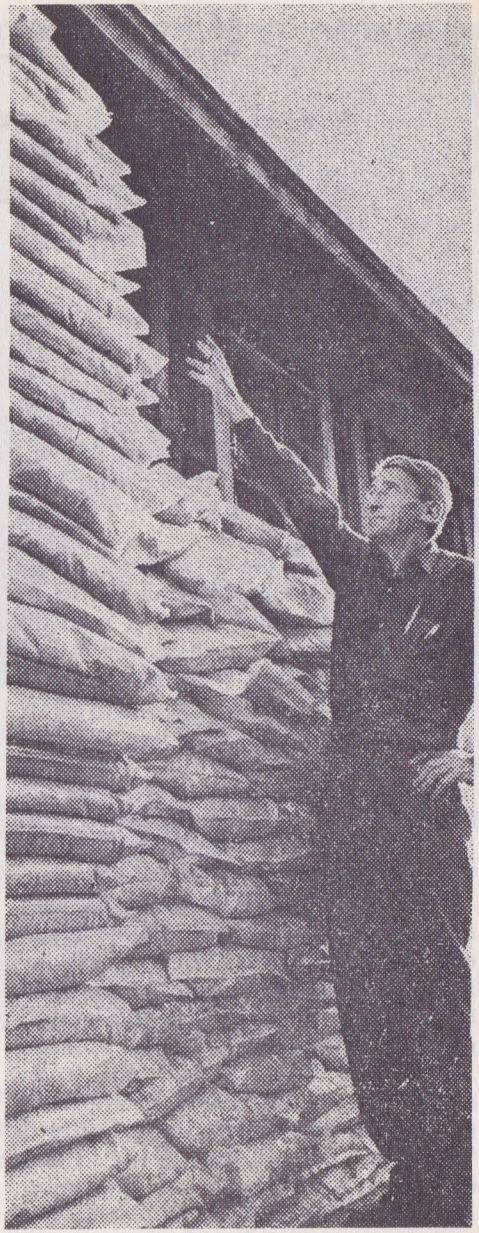
It will be the first national antiwar conference where a trade union workshop with significant labor participation is scheduled.

The conference will be held at Cuyahoga Community College. It will open with keynote speeches Friday, June 19, followed by business sessions Saturday and Sunday. Part of the conference will be a demonstration against Vice-President Spiro Agnew, who will be addressing a Republican gathering on June 20.

Information, advance registration and sponsorship are being handled by the Cleveland Area Peace Action

Photo by John Gray

John Williams, business representative of Los Angeles Local 208 of



Fred Brode, Houston antiwar leader, examines sandbags placed around his home by supporters after right-wing gun attacks. Right-wingers then managed arson attack on home.

Fight frame-up of Black activist in Tallahassee

By JACK LIEBERMAN

TALLAHASSEE, Fla. — A rally was held in the Black community here June 6 in support of Edward Johnson, a member of the Malcolm X United Liberation Front. Johnson is being framed on a charge of second-degree arson. Right now he is out on $12,500 bail.

Speakers at the June 6 rally, attended by more than 100 people, included Rev. C. K. Steele, a national vice-president of SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference); Rev. Gooden of the Black community in Tallahassee; and Wally Jugger of the MXULF.

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The charges against Johnson grew out of the fire-bombing of a furniture store and another place on May 18. But the real source of the frame-up stems from a demonstration on May 15, when 900 people marched to the capitol protesting the projected closing down of the all-Black Lincoln Elementary School.

Lincoln's slated demise at the end of the year is part of the desegregation plan of the Tallahassee city government. Rather than bring white children into the Black community to attend Lincoln — some of the children might be Governor Claude Kirk's since his mansion is only three blocks away — Black children will be distributed into schools in the white community.

The Malcolm X United Liberation Front is demanding that Lincoln be renovated and used till 1971, by which time a new school will have been built. They demand that the new school be built in the Black community and that the school come under

NAACP and president of the Wayne County AFL-CIO.

Statements supporting the conference will be read from Charles Palmer, president of the National Student Association; Katherine Camp, national chairman of Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; and

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John Williams, business representative of Los Angeles Local 208 of Teamsters, will participate in Cleveland antiwar conference.

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Information, advance registration and sponsorship are being handled by the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, 2102 Euclid Ave., Cleveland, Ohio 44115. (216) 621-6516.

Many back Austin YSA in campus rights fight

By MARTA PRINCE

AUSTIN, June 10 — An outdoor rally was held on the campus of the University of Texas here yesterday to protest attempts by the university to prevent the Young Socialist Alliance from holding its Socialist Summer School on campus. During the rally, 200 signatures were collected on a petition opposing the harassment and in support of the right of free speech. The event was well covered by local news media.

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Students on the University of Texas campus in Austin responded quickly with the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee Against the Regents' Ruling. The committee includes Jeff Jones, president of the Students Association, as

Fred Brode, Houston antiwar leader, examines sandbags placed around his home by supporters after right-wing gun attacks. Right-wingers then managed arson attack on home.

Houston rightists in arson attack on antiwar leader

By DAVID BLISS

HOUSTON — On Friday, May 8, at 11:30 a.m., arsonists set fire to the home of Fred and Laura Brode here on the outskirts of Houston. Although the Brodes were on vacation at the time, the fire was quickly reported by a neighbor and then put out.

Fred Brode is chairman of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The house has been shot at several times in the last year, usually at night, but this daylight attack

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The Malcolm X United Liberation Front is demanding that Lincoln be renovated and used till 1971, by which time a new school will have been built. They demand that the new school be built in the Black community and that the school come under the control of the Black community.

The MXULF is badly in need of funds to meet the expenses of the Johnson case. Contributions can be sent to: Malcolm X United Liberation Front, 317 N. Macomb St., Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

Works by Ernest Mandel

Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory	$1.00
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The rally, attended by some 300 persons, was part of a campaign of protest unleashed when the University of Texas board of regents unanimously passed a rule May 29 prohibiting the use of university facilities for any meeting of a registered student organization which is attended "by more than three persons who are neither students nor employees of the institution." The rule does not apply to organizations, like the American Legion's Boys State program, that are invited by university officials.

Board of regents chairman Frank Erwin, Jr., said the rule was necessitated because of last year's YSA-sponsored summer school, which was attended by a number of high school students. "The classes were labeled 'classes in socialism,'" Erwin explained to the board, "when in fact they were classes in communism."

Students on the University of Texas campus in Austin responded quickly with the formation of an Ad Hoc Committee Against the Regents' Ruling. The committee includes Jeff Jones, president of the Students Association, as well as members of the Abortion Committee of Women's Liberation, Young Democrats, Young Republicans, Revolutionary Marxist Caucus of SDS, Student Mobilization Committee, Union for National Draft Opposition, YSA, and the Youth International Party.

On June 4, *The Summer Texan*, student newspaper at the university, published an editorial attacking the regents. "The real intent of the rule is clear—to make sure that university facilities are not used for meetings at which ideals contrary to what the regents approve are expressed."

Support for the YSA is growing, and on June 5, *The Summer Texan* published statements of support from a wide range of persons.

Besides the petition and protest rallies the Ad Hoc Committee is planning a civil liberties battle in the courts.

At a committee news conference June 4, Candida McCollam of the YSA announced that the second Austin Socialist Summer School will take place as planned.

The Austin YSA has publicly challenged board of regents chairman Frank Erwin, Jr., to a debate on the topic, "Capitalism vs. Marxism, and the Role of the University."

A New Merit Pamphlet

IN DEFENSE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

Articles by:

Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters, Evelyn Reed

25¢

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Fred Brode is chairman of the Houston Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The house has been shot at several times in the last year, usually at night, but this daylight attack was the most audacious attempt by right-wing terrorists so far.

Sheriff's deputy Bobby Turner, in his report of the crime, said that the fire was obviously set. Matches were left by the arsonist at the back of the house, and there were marks in the dirt on the east side, indicating that someone had crawled underneath the house. The fire caused about $2,500 worth of damage. One of the walls was burned severely, with smoke causing the rest of the damage. The insurance company had completely renovated the house.

The Sheriff's Department has refused to investigate the crime any further. Previous attempts by snipers to silence Brode's antiwar views have been frustrated by a wall of sandbags erected in front of his house. One such attempt was made right after the April antiwar actions when a shotgun was fired into the sandbags.

This most recent attack has been dealt with by mobilizing support for the Brodes' right to express their views. The Permanent Political Defense Committee has been set up to finance the sandbagging, which is still being worked on. Funds should be sent to: Fred Brode, c/o HCEVW, P.O. Box 1811, Houston, Texas.

Answer to Mike Zagarel

The CP's attack on Trotskyism

By BARRY SHEPPARD

NEW YORK — Taking a cue from his Kremlin mentors, who have recently called for a stepping up of the "struggle against Trotskyism" on an international scale, a leading member of the Communist Party USA addressed a May 22 public forum here on the topic "The Inside Job — Trotzkyism in the Movement."

Mike Zagarel, the CP speaker, didn't charge the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance with being fascists or raise the other frame-up charges of the Moscow Trials of the 1930s, but his method of slander and distortion was basically the same. He charged that the Trotskyists are "objective agents of the CIA," instead of paid agents of Hitler and the Mikado, and that we are "racists" who "objectively aid the extreme right."

Throughout his talk, Zagarel tried to resurrect some of the old and worn-out charges against Trotsky personally that became the Stalinists' stock in trade during Stalin's lifetime. Most radicals now know that the Moscow Trials were frame-ups, and know about Trotsky's real role through such works as Deutscher's biography of Trotsky, and I am not going to take up Zagarel's slanders on this point. I will only indicate a few of his lies and distortions on other points, attempting to concentrate on some of the real political issues which deeply divide the American Trotskyists from the pro-Moscow wing of American Stalinism. Future articles will further examine these and other related issues.

Zagarel asserted that the line of the

slovakia in 1968 could have rapidly led to the establishment of real workers democracy in that country, and swept aside the stultifying, conservative bureaucracy which has fastened itself upon the Czechoslovak workers state. This would have had tremendous progressive repercussions in the other workers states, and indeed throughout the world, and would have marked an enormous advance for world socialism.

The invasion was launched by the Kremlin bureaucrats precisely because they feared that such a process would end in their own overthrow and the re-establishment of Soviet democracy as in the days of the early Soviet Republic under Lenin. The invasion was an antisocialist act that dealt a blow to the cause of socialism everywhere.

During the Soviet invasion, the American Communist Party distinguished itself by being one of the most servile pro-Kremlin CPs in the world. But even in this hidebound organization there were voices of dissent.

The *People's World*, the West Coast CP newspaper, vigorously opposed the invasion. It sent its editor, Al Richmond, to Czechoslovakia, and he sent back a series of reports published in that newspaper which flatly denied that any "counterrevolution" was occurring in Czechoslovakia. Is Al Richmond, too, objectively a CIA agent, Comrade Zagarel?

To top this point off, in the question period Zagarel explained that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was equivalent to union militants beating up scabs during a strike!

THIRD PERIOD STALINISM. Shown here is German CP leader Ernest Thaelmann, left, in the "Red Front" uniform. On Nov. 19, 1932, Thaelmann proclaimed: "nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist

By BARRY SHEPPARD

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Zagarel asserted that the line of the CIA is to divide the world's working class and national liberation movements from the Soviet Union, and that the "Trotskyites smuggle this line into the movement."

The Trotskyists do believe that the Kremlin bureaucracy which developed in the time of Stalin has betrayed and misled the world working-class movement, and the Trotskyists are attempting to construct an alternative leadership on a world scale capable of

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The *People's World*, the West Coast CP newspaper, vigorously opposed the invasion. It sent its editor, Al Richmond, to Czechoslovakia, and he sent back a series of reports published in that newspaper which flatly denied that any "counterrevolution" was occurring in Czechoslovakia. Is Al Richmond, too, objectively a CIA agent, Comrade Zagarel?

To top this point off, in the question period Zagarel explained that the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia was equivalent to union militants beating up scabs during a strike!

(For key facts and analysis demonstrating the socialist character of the Czech uprising, see the pamphlet, *The Invasion of Czechoslovakia,* Pathfinder Press, 65 cents.)

The major thrust of Zagarel's speech was to charge that "Trotskyites" are "inveterate splitters and disrupters" of what he called "broad coalitions" and "united fronts." This is no merely temporarily mistaken policy, he explained, but is deep-rooted in "Trotskyite"

THIRD PERIOD STALINISM. Shown here is German CP leader Ernest Thaelmann, left, in the "Red Front" uniform. On Nov. 19, 1932, Thaelmann proclaimed: "nothing would be more fatal than an opportunist overestimation of Hitlerite Fascism. . . . It would be false to believe that the most important process that is taking place in Germany is the growth of Fascism." Hitler came to power Jan. 30, 1933—two months later.

the same time, such fronts would put the revolutionary workers and the revolutionary party in direct contact with workers still supporting reformist parties, under the best of conditions for winning them to the revolutionary party: in common struggle against the

tunist policy of the popular front. Having long since lost faith in the capacity of the working class to carry through the socialist revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy turned towards what it declared to be the "progressive" sector of the bourgeoisie. The popular front

into the movement."

The Trotskyists do believe that the Kremlin bureaucracy which developed in the time of Stalin has betrayed and misled the world working-class movement, and the Trotskyists are attempting to construct an alternative leadership on a world scale capable of leading the struggle for socialism through to victory.

Zagarel's charge boils down to this: You either accept Kremlin leadership or you are "smuggling the line" of the CIA into the movement. That is like saying that if antiwar construction workers in New York felt the right-wing bureaucrats heading their unions were sell-out artists and misleaders, and if these antiwar construction workers set out to build an alternative leadership to the bureaucrats — then those antiwar construction workers would be "smuggling in the line" of anti-union construction employers into the union.

A related charge Zagarel leveled against the Trotskyists is that we supported the "line of the CIA" by supporting "counterrevolution" in Czechoslovakia during the 1968 Kremlin invasion. The SWP and YSA did support the steps towards socialist democracy taken by the Czechoslovakian workers and students during 1968 — including steps towards the democratization of the trade unions and the Communist Party, and the right of workers and socialists to have access to and discuss all opinions in the world socialist and communist movements.

The process which began in Czecho-

Leon Trotsky:

Stalinism and Bolshevism

35¢

PATHFINDER PRESS

873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003

Invasion of Czechoslovakia, Pathfinder Press, 65 cents.)

The major thrust of Zagarel's speech was to charge that "Trotskyites" are "inveterate splitters and disrupters" of what he called "broad coalitions" and "united fronts." This is no merely temporarily mistaken policy, he explained, but is deep-rooted in "Trotskyite" theory. To illustrate his point, he cited the example of the Trotskyist position during the Spanish civil war in the 1930s.

During the 1930s, Stalin developed the policy of the "popular front," which is the same thing Zagarel refers to as a "broad coalition" and which recent issues of the CP newspaper the *Daily World* called a "people's alliance." It was this policy which the Stalinists succeeded in imposing upon the Spanish workers, and which led to their defeat in the Spanish civil war.

Zagarel used the term "united front" interchangeably with "broad coalition," but actually the concept and practice of the united front and the popular front are diametrically opposed.

The tactic of the united front was devised by the Communist International in its early healthy days before the Stalinist degeneration. It was clearly spelled out in a resolution at the Second World Congress of the CI in 1922. (The resolution was drafted by Trotsky and was unanimously approved by the Congress.)

Briefly, the tactic of the united front was devised for the situation in which the revolutionary party, the Communist Party in those days, did not yet have support of the overwhelming majority of the working class, and with sectors of the class still supporting reformist or centrist working-class parties, like the Social Democrats. The tactic was to propose common actions around specific issues in the class struggle with the reformist parties.

If such united fronts of working class parties could be formed, they would help *mobilize* the working class in *action* and *struggle* against the capitalist class around specific issues. At the same time, such fronts would put the revolutionary workers and the revolutionary party in direct contact with workers still supporting reformist parties, under the best of conditions for winning them to the revolutionary party: in common struggle against the capitalist class.

A key idea in the concept of the united front was that the working-class parties engaged in it would be free to criticize each other and continue to present their own views. Thus, the revolutionary party could mobilize in action wider layers than its own followers, and reach these new layers with its revolutionary program and try to convince them of its superior ability to lead in action.

If the reformist leaders refused such common action on burning issues before the class, the onus would be on them, and the task of the revolutionary party in mobilizing wider layers would be made easier than if the united front proposal had not been made.

One of Stalin's greatest crimes was his refusal to build such a united front in Germany during the period of the rise of Hitler. At that time Stalin, and the German CP under his direction, proclaimed the *ultraleft* theory that Hitler's fascists and the Social Democrats were "twins." This was then parlayed into the insane theory of "social fascism" under which the Social Democrats were declared "objectively" fascist and a greater danger than the real fascist because they were masked. This meant that the CP's main fire (including physical attacks) was directed against the "social fascists," not the Nazis.

Because they refused to build a united front with the Social Democrats against the fascist danger, Hitler was able to come to power without serious resistance, even though both the CP and SP had powerful mass support in the workers movement.

After this terrible defeat in Germany, Stalin flip-flopped over to the opportunist policy of the popular front. Having long since lost faith in the capacity of the working class to carry through the socialist revolution, the Soviet bureaucracy turned towards what it declared to be the "progressive" sector of the bourgeoisie. The popular front was the new expression of this policy.

The key concept in the popular front is to create an alliance of working-class parties and the "progressive" capitalist parties or "progressive" wings of capitalist parties, if possible, to install such a "people's" front in governmental power. The key to winning such an alliance with the capitalist class or the "good" sector of it is to *subordinate* the demands and interests of the working class and other oppressed classes to the interests and demands of the capitalist class. Otherwise the capitalists, the "progressive" capitalists, would refuse to join such "fronts."

Thus the Stalinists told their followers that they should defer until a later time all demands that *conflicted* with the interests of their capitalist "allies." In this way, whatever the relationship of forces in the popular front, the *capitalist* elements dominated the program and the policy of the front.

The difference between the united front and the popular front in basic. The united front tactic is designed to mobilize the working class and its allies in action and struggle against the capitalist class: it is a *class struggle* concept. The popular front is designed to subordinate the interest of the working class to those of the "progressive" bourgeoisie: it is a *class collaborationist* concept.

Herein is reflected the deep divergence between the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance on the one side, and the Communist Party and the Young Workers Liberation Leaugue on the other.

(To be continued. Next installment: The popular front in Spain.)

Seattle cops murdered Black vet, jury finds

By BILL MASSEY
SWP candidate for U. S. senator from Washington

SEATTLE, Wash.—A 22-year-old Black Vietnam veteran was shot and killed by police here May 15. The victim, Larry Ward, had been set up for the killing, and the local cops acted in collusion with the FBI. These are the central facts that emerged from a coroner's jury here, which found that Ward, who had been wounded twice in Vietnam, was killed by "criminal means."

The findings of the jury are not legally binding, however, and it is clear that the King County prosecutor will not seek indictments against the cops involved unless there is a powerful, organized demand by the city's Black community and general population.

During the past year, there has been a series of bombings in the Seattle area, many of them in the city's Central District, where the Black community lives. According to testimony before the coroner's jury, the FBI notified the Seattle police on May 14 that a bombing attempt would be made early the next morning against the Hardcastle Realty Company. The source of the information, according to the FBI, was an informer.

The same informer, according to witnesses, called the Seattle police department at two-hour intervals on the morning of the 15th; he made one of these calls just 10 minutes before police officer John Hannah fired the shotgun blast that killed Ward in front of were about 200 feet from the victim.

Ward ran. The cops drove after him firing. When they were about 60 feet from him, they yelled at him to stop. Ward turned the top part of his body around, his hands at his waist, according to the cops. They thought, they said, that he was going to shoot, so they fired another blast—the fourth—and killed him. (Medical testimony indicated that Ward was in fact raising his hands in a gesture of surrender when he was hit by the fatal blast.) All this took place in less than 25 seconds, according to police authorities.

There are obvious questions raised by the police testimony that remained unanswered before the jury. Why didn't the police try to take the victim without killing him? Why didn't the police pick up the car driven by the informer, even though another police car had asked whether it should do so and had not received any answer from police supervisors? Why did the police "assume" that Ward was armed, though they saw no evidence that Ward had any weapons and no weapons were found on his body?

And, of course, the main question is why do the police feel free to shoot down residents of the Black community in cold blood?

More than 600 people attended one session of the jury hearings; the other four sessions had about 300 in attendance. Over half the people present were Black. City and county officials are now calling the coroner's inquest—the first here that has ever found

N. Y. Moratorium, Oct. 15 Photo by Hermes

N.Y. Third World poll: 85% favor withdrawal

NEW YORK (LNS)—A June 5 poll of 3,200 Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the ghetto communities of New York City's Harlem, East Harlem,

Stay and win war—1 percent.
Don't know—7 percent.

Q. Do You consider the Vietnam war as racist?

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The same informer, according to witnesses, called the Seattle police department at two-hour intervals on the morning of the 15th; he made one of these calls just 10 minutes before police officer John Hannah fired the shotgun blast that killed Ward in front of the Hardcastle company.

Witnesses further told the jury that the same informer was the man who drove Ward to the real estate office, where the police had a stake-out team —which had been ordered to fire no warning shots at Ward.

The same informer, it appears from the testimony of a police bomb expert, also made the bomb. Ward did not even know how to connect the fuse or light it—several burned matches were found right where the bomb was supposed to have been.

Hannah and his partner-driver, John Garner, both testified that they used Garner's private automobile because all the unmarked police vehicles are known in the Black community. They had to wait, they said, for several hours for the car driven by the police informer to arrive. They claim that Ward got out of the car and, carrying something that looked like a bomb, went to the door of the real estate office, knelt, and appeared to be lighting the bomb.

The cops shouted at him to halt they said, and, at the same moment, fired the first blast from their sawed-off shotguns. At that moment, they

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More than 600 people attended one session of the jury hearings; the other four sessions had about 300 in attendance. Over half the people present were Black. City and county officials are now calling the coroner's inquest —the first here that has ever found police guilty of using illegal methods —a circus, presumably because so many Afro-Americans attended and because it did not follow the script by finding the police innocent.

Of the jurors, two Black men and one white woman voted for a finding of "killing by criminal means"; one white man and one white woman wanted to call the killing "justifiable homocide."

Representatives of the Black community, including the Ward family's lawyer, Len Hawell, have demanded that the King County prosecutor seek murder indictments against the two cops involved.

The Student Mobilization Committee and the University of Washington Strike Committee commemorated Ward at the May 30 Memorial Day antiwar march and rally, and they have demanded that the two policemen be brought to trial.

Photo by Hermes

N. Y. Moratorium, Oct. 15

N.Y. Third World poll: 85% favor withdrawal

NEW YORK (LNS)—A June 5 poll of 3,200 Blacks and Puerto Ricans in the ghetto communities of New York City's Harlem, East Harlem, and Bedford-Stuyvesant has shown their overwhelming disagreement with Nixon's policies in Indochina. The widespread opinion of Third World people in New York is that the war is racist. Almost identical results were obtained in each of the areas polled, according to *Muhammad Speaks*, the Muslim newspaper which took the poll. Poll results follow.

Q. What do you think of President Nixon's decision to send U. S. troops to fight in Cambodia?

Disapprove—90 percent.

Approve—2 percent.

Don't know—8 percent.

Q. In the Vietnam war, now an Indochina war, in your opinion which should the U. S. do?

Withdraw as soon as possible—75 percent.

Withdraw immediately—10 percent.

Gradually withdraw troops—9 percent.

Stay and win war—1 percent.

Don't know—7 percent.

Q. Do You consider the Vietnam war as racist?

Yes—81 percent.

No—12 percent.

Don't know—7 percent.

Q. Have you ever participated in a peace or antiwar march, demonstration or rally?

Never—62 percent.

More than once—21 percent.

Once—17 percent.

The following question was asked of those who said they never attended a peace or antiwar event.

Q. Why did you never participate?

Because I never had time—41 percent.

Because it's not my thing—22 percent.

Because I thought it was a "white" thing—12 percent.

Because I never was personally invited to go—8 percent.

Because I support the president's policies to win the war—1.5 percent.

Don't know—15.5 percent.

Denver Chicano party nominating convention

La Raza Unida sets candidates

By ORRIN BROWN

DENVER—The second nominating convention of the Colorado La Raza Unida Party took place here May 30,

Juan Valdez, a Denver accountant, for the office of state treasurer; Bruno Madina, a leader of the Brown Berets, for Pueblo County sheriff; Mark Saiz, board member and vice-president of

enough to find out.' . . . . He said attempts will be made to have the age limits of the two top offices lowered because 'Chicanos mature faster than anglos.'

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DENVER—The second nominating convention of the Colorado La Raza Unida Party took place here May 30, attended by approximately 150 delegates from around the state.

The first of a series of such conventions was held May 16 in Pueblo, at which time candidates were picked for the major posts of governor and lieutenant governor, along with several minor offices (see *The Militant*, June 12). Twenty-six-year-old Albert Gurule from Pueblo is the party's candidate for governor. George Garcia, 29, is the candidate for lieutenant governor. Garcia was fired from the staff of the Denver Commission on Community Relations two days after the announcement of his candidacy was made.

At the Denver convention, the Colorado La Raza Unida Party nominated: Juan Valdez, a Denver accountant, for the office of state treasurer; Bruno Madina, a leader of the Brown Berets, for Pueblo County sheriff; Mark Saiz, board member and vice-president of Human Resources, Inc., for the University of Colorado board of regents; and Priscilla Gomez, a Pueblo housewife, for the state legislature from District 35.

In the coming weeks, more conventions will be held in strategic areas around the state, the end result being a full slate for the November elections.

According to the May 31 *Denver Post*, state attorney general Duke Dunbar said that La Raza Unida candidates for governor and lieutenant governor don't meet minimum age requirement (30) to hold public office. In the same article, Gurule replied by saying, "'I knew I wasn't old enough to hold office, but it took Duke Dunbar long enough to find out.' . . . . He said attempts will be made to have the age limits of the two top offices lowered because 'Chicanos mature faster than anglos.'

"'The Chicano matures faster because he is exploited and oppressed every day of his life,' Gurule said. 'Gringos make a big thing about age . . . but they don't take age into account when they work our kids in the fields, only when we try to run for office.'"

Gurule made these remarks at the convention. Rodolfo (Corky) Gonzales, chairman of La Raza Unida, stated later at a press conference that the state's age requirement may be unconstitutional.

La Raza Unida Party needs funds for the upcoming campaign. Send contributions to the: Crusade for Justice headquarters, 1567 Downing, Denver, Colorado 80218.

Arab revolution on the rise

Three years after June war

Israeli tourists stroll in Haram Esh-Sherif

Demolition continues in Old City

Once flourishing markets are out of business

Armored cars patrol the streets

Arab World

Expropriation of Arab property

Palestinian women demonstrate

By ROBERT LANGSTON

JUNE 9—In the early morning of June 5, 1967, the first wave of Israeli jets screamed away from their airstrips towards the United Arab Republic. By evening, the Egyptian air force no longer existed as a fighting power; 400 of its planes had been destroyed.

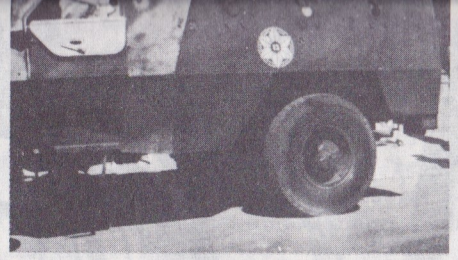
Six days later, a cease-fire prevailed on all fronts. The Israeli army patrolled the West Bank of Jordan, Syria's Golan Heights, the Egyptian Sinai Peninsula, and the Gaza Strip.

The Israeli military victory was total, and the Zionist state still occupies the territories it seized in the six days' war. But three years after that war of conquest—which was, for a while, successful in destroying the Palestinian liberation movement—the Palestinian struggle has risen to a new level.

Despite the massive defeat of the Arab armies, despite the occupation of the Arab territories, despite the fact that the Palestinians have become a minority in the Zionist state, despite the fact that the Palestinians have become a minority in the Zionist state, despite the fact that the Palestinians have become a minority in the Zionist state

June war

Arab World



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The Israeli military victory was total, and the Zionist state still occupies the territories it seized in the six days' war. But three years after that war of conquest—which was, for a while, successfully sold to much of world public opinion as Israel's "war of survival"—the aims of the Zionist-imperialist alliance in the Middle East seem farther than ever from realization.

Instead of an atomized, impotent and despairing mass of humans who might, at the convenience of their Israeli rulers, be easily removed from their land and villages and either expelled across some temporary frontier or shifted to where they might be most efficiently used as marginal workers in the Israeli economy, the Zionist state confronts in the Palestinian Arabs a nation in birth.

If in 1967, the refugee camps were the refuse heaps of broken promises and betrayed hopes, today they are the vital centers of a people in arms fighting for its liberation, largely in independence of all the established powers in the Middle East.

With the development of the independence struggle, the Palestinians have more and more projected the vision of a secular, democratic Palestine in which Moslems, Jews and Christians will enjoy equal rights. It has thus become increasingly difficult for the Zionist propaganda apparatus to sustain in Israeli and world public opinion the racist image of the savage, bloodthirsty Arab intent on hurling the Jews into the sea.

The development of the independent Palestinian struggle has also been accompanied by a growing awareness that the goal of Palestinian liberation can only be accomplished through a fight to the end against Arab capitalism and feudalism and against imperialist influence in the whole Middle East, that the Palestinian national struggle against Zionism can only succeed if it is a part of a socialist revolution in the entire region.

This ever radicalizing national movement has again and again come into violent conflict with two of imperialism's—and Zionism's—sturdiest allies in the Arab world—the half-feudal, half-capitalist ruling classes of Lebanon and Jordan. As these lines are being written, a battle is raging in the streets of Amman between the fedayeen and King Hussein's Royal Jordanian Army. The Palestinian movement has emerged from each similar encounter in the past with greater authority among the Palestinian as well as non-Palestinian Arab masses and with a heightened consciousness of the mortal threat to it presented by the ruling classes of the reactionary Arab states. At the same time, the legitimacy of these ruling classes in the eyes of the Jordanian and Lebanese masses has been correspondingly undermined.

In the past week, the Palestinian movement appears to have attained a new stage of organizational maturity. A meeting of the Palestine National Council in Cairo May 30-June 4 established, for the first time, a unified central committee and a joint military command encompassing all the major fedayeen groups.

Even more important, perhaps, was the decision to form national committees including both Palestinians and non-Palestinians in Jordan and Lebanon. The Palestinian movement may thus be able to confront with greater internal unity and greater local support the next, expected attempt by Arab reaction to crush it: June 15, when, the Lebanese government has declared, it will try to stop the fedayeen from firing across the Lebanese border into Israel and from entering towns and villages while armed.

If the impact of the Palestinian resistance on the Arab masses has been most obvious in Jordan and Lebanon, it has had a profoundly radicalizing effect throughout the Arab world. This radicalization, as much as anything else, has forced the Syrian and Iraqi regimes to intensify their at least verbal anti-imperialism. It has prevented Nasser from acquiescing in the Israeli conquests and has compelled a measure of Soviet aid in the defense of Egypt, Syria and Iraq. It produced the conditions for the overthrow last year of the imperialist puppet governments in the Sudan and Libya.

While all this has been occurring to the north and west of the Arabian peninsula, in southern Arabia imperialism today confronts an even more immediate challenge to its continued domination. Since the six days' war, a revolutionary government—by far the most radical in the region—has come to power in Aden, and a guerrilla movement, with the declared goal of carrying an anti-imperialist revolution into all the petty, oil-rich states bordering on the Arab-Persian Gulf, controls two-thirds of the Dhofar province of Muscat and Oman.

Succeeding articles will describe these developments, as well as the beginning of the breakdown of the Zionist consensus inside Israel and the imperialist-Zionist counterattack.

New York City

A Debate

And the end is not yet

Jobless rate hits five-year peak

By DICK ROBERTS

In May, the national level of unemployment rose to 4,106,000 (seasonally adjusted). At 5 percent, this unemployment level was the highest since

a recession. Moreover, nothing in the economic statistics suggests an early end to it—or to inflation."

Nixon's economic manipulations are

Grand Rapids, Mich.; and Waterbury, Conn.

Although corporate sales and profits have been sliding since last autumn,

liance in the Middle East seem farther than ever from realization.

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New York City

A Debate

Zionism and Socialism in the Middle East

Arie Bober
of the
revolutionary, anti-Zionist
Israeli Socialist Organization
and

Moshe Zedek
of the socialist-Zionist
Jewish Liberation Project

Wed., June 17, 8 p.m.
Contribution: $1

Academy Hall
853 Broadway

And the end is not yet

Jobless rate hits five-year peak

By DICK ROBERTS

In May, the national level of unemployment rose to 4,106,000 (seasonally adjusted). At 5 percent, this unemployment level was the highest since early 1965, when Johnson began the major escalation of the Vietnam war.

As recently as February, Paul W. McCracken, chairman of Nixon's Council of Economic Advisers, was promising that the year's average unemployment would be "in the zone of 4.3 percent." But this was another deliberate hoax.

During his campaign, Nixon went so far as to talk about 4 percent as the "political ceiling" of unemployment.

The unemployment level is the product of many forces of the capitalist economy. Only some of these can be influenced by the Federal government. The Nixon administration has been following a deliberate policy of "risking recession" in order to "combat inflation."

"Washington policymakers still won't use the word, but so far as a growing number of economists, investors and businessmen are concerned," *Business Week* magazine stated May 30, "the economic slowdown has become a recession. Moreover, nothing in the economic statistics suggests an early end to it — or to inflation."

Nixon's economic manipulations are not faring well.

The rise in unemployment in May reflected deepening production cutbacks: The increase of 158,000 occurred almost entirely among white adults who had been laid off from full-time jobs, said the June 8 *Wall Street Journal.*

A survey in *Business Week*, June 6, reported the heaviest hit cities and regions: Mayaguez and Ponce, Puerto Rico, always with unemployment levels higher than the States, have reached 12.1 and 16.0 percent, respectively.

Seattle and Tacoma, Washington, have been hit by timber and war industry cutbacks. Boeing Co., in Seattle, has cut its employment to 60,700 from a 1968 peak of 101,500. By March, unemployment in Tacoma had reached 7.2 per cent, Seattle, 7.6 per cent.

The following places all reported March unemployment levels above 7 per cent: New Bedford, Lowell and Fall River, Mass.; Fresno and Stockton, Calif.; Muskegon County and Grand Rapids, Mich.; and Waterbury, Conn.

Although corporate sales and profits have been sliding since last autumn, business has not yet responded by slashing prices. On the contrary, the monopolists are raising their prices in order to make up for the decreased sales volumes.

Under these circumstances, it is difficult to foresee an early turnaround of joblessness. More likely, the present level of unemployment will react on the economy to produce further unemployment.

That is, the decreased purchasing power of workers presently without jobs will tend to force even further cutbacks in production and further layoffs as a result.

U. S. News & World Report looks to a "Summer Job Crisis" above all for young people. ". . . estimates are that of the 2.7 million students in the 16-to-21 age group seeking summer jobs, at least 650,000 will come up empty-handed," this magazine stated June 15.

"Fears are being raised of a possible boiling up of resentment among youth," *U. S. News* stated.

Ohio AFL-CIO parley.. unionists debate war

By RANDY FURST

CLEVELAND—More signs that opposition to the war is deepening in the ranks of organized labor appeared here last week when a resolution for immediate withdrawal nearly passed a state convention of the Ohio AFL-CIO.

Eighteen hundred unionists, packed into Public Hall June 4, watched as vehement opponents of the war clashed with war supporters in a heated one-hour floor fight.

On voice vote, the resolution was evenly split between "ayes" and "nos."

By standing vote, the chair ruled that the resolution failed—but a television announcer standing near this writer called the vote 50-50, and later, antiwar unionists said that had a roll-call vote been allowed, the resolution would have passed since antiwar delegates represented a larger bloc of union members.

A roll-call vote was ruled out of order by the chair, however.

But for Cleveland unionists who have watched organized labor repeatedly back U.S. aggression in Southeast Asia, the marked upturn in support for the antiwar resolution was viewed as a significant victory.

The resolution's "whereas" clause called for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and the "resolved" clause urged the AFL-CIO Executive Council to reexamine its pro-war stance, a direct slap at AFL-CIO president George Meany.

No antiwar resolution has come near passing the AFL-CIO in Ohio before, nor has such a resolution ever before reached the floor. But the resolutions committee reported it out without a dissenting vote, urging the delegates to pass it.

The resolution was an apparent compromise between two other resolutions, one submitted by a Retail Clerks local in Akron and another submitted by the Ohio state branch of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America.

The Clerks resolution was mild compared with the sharply worded submission from the Meat Cutters.

In the floor debate, Auda Romine, secretary-treasurer of the meat cutters Local 500 took the microphone and to considerable applause told the delegates:

"Labor—and I mean the rank-and-file worker—is the only force that can bring this war to an end and restore sanity to our society.

"The rank-and-file workers are beginning to speak out against the war because they are beginning to relate the Vietnam war to the deterioration of their living standards. Yes, the worker is beginning to speak out, and the leadership would do well to start listening. . . .

"I've been hearing remarks about the students. I would remind you that these students are our union members of tomorrow. But if we're to have a tomorrow—and I mean this sincerely—labor had better start moving to bring this war to an end.

"I urge passage of this resolution—and let it not be just words on a piece of paper, but the beginning of a call for an end to the criminal war in Vietnam."

Speaking for the antiwar resolution were Patrick O'Malley, president of the Cleveland AFL-CIO Federation of Labor, the citywide union body; Sam Pollock, president of the Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen Local 427; Frank Cimino, secretary-treasurer from the same local; and Percy Garth, president of Local 1826 of the United Steel Workers in Cleveland.

The *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, June 7, viewed the convention as a major turning point. Wrote labor writer William F. Miller, "The significance is that the debate which raged for an hour Thursday could not have taken place a year ago. AFL-CIO doves in Ohio are increasing in number."

Others go further than Miller. Some unionists insist that workers in Ohio who want the U.S. out of Southeast Asia are now in the majority.

Auda Romine addresses Ohio AFL-CIO convention in Cleveland June 4.

Interviews with unionists

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Arizona's regents have offered socialist prof. Morris J. Starsky a year's sabbatical leave with 60 percent pay if he will leave Arizona State University. The board recommended termination of his contract "in the interests of education" if he did not take the sabbatical. The regents' decision to fire Starsky, made on June 10, overruled the recommendation of the ASU president and the Faculty Committee of Academic Freedom.

Interviews with unionists

What workers say about war

By RANDY FURST

CLEVELAND — Interviews with dozens of delegates to the seventh annual Ohio State AFL-CIO convention held here June 2-5 sharply reflected the mounting antiwar sentiment in the ranks of labor — as did the withdrawal resolution that almost passed.

What came across clearly was the fact that the antiwar movement can today win significant support from organized labor. In many ways the mood is similar to what it was on the campuses several years ago. More than at any time before, labor leaders are willing to take a public stand and fight to have their unions go on record against the war. They are willing to back the antiwar movement.

Delegate after delegate told *The Militant* of opposition to the war and support for the antiwar resolution.

"I'm for immediate withdrawal," said Raymond Jackson, 35, a delegate from Cincinnati. Jackson is a member of Local 250 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees and a supervisor of groundkeepers. "I don't think we should have gone in there in the first place. It may be profitable to some persons," he says, "but not to the average person whose son's dying in the war. I don't think that we're not loyal to America to be against fighting in the war."

Jordan Terrell, 60, is a member of

Percy Garth, president of Local 1826 of the United Steelworkers in Cleveland, explained why he favored withdrawal. "I have a 19-year-old son," said Garth. "He's just graduated from high school. I think about what would happen to my home if we were notified that he was killed."

Earl Wolfe, 40, works at a steel mill in Massillon, some 50 miles south of Cleveland. "The antiwar resolution should have been passed, because I don't think they were asking that much," Wolfe said. "I'm opposed to the war. I've been against it ever since it started. I've got a son coming along. If it carries on too much longer, he'll be wrapped up in it too."

Wolfe said that his plant "is about as split as this delegation is."

"My feeling is stop it!" Ruth Seither, 47, told *The Militant.* "I have a son who is in the service now. I have two nephews that were in Vietnam, and I lost a nephew in World War II. And I don't feel we have any right over there." Ruth Seither is president of Local 411 of the Allied Industrial Workers in Cleveland. How do the members of her local feel? "They feel the same way. Most of them are for getting out. They certainly don't support Nixon."

But not all the delegates favored getting out of Indochina, as the near 50-50 vote on the resolution indicated. The interviews obtained by *The Mili-*

Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1907. "I think the young people in this country should realize that we fought to get what we got. I don't like the war. But I didn't like World War II. I think what college students need is a strap across the back. I don't have any boys," she adds. "I might feel differently if I did."

But over and over again the answers to *The Militant's* questions brought unequivocal condemnation of the war.

Mel Witt, director of Community Services for the Cleveland AFL-CIO, backed the antiwar resolution saying, "I'm opposed to any involvement there. I want to see us get out completely. I really think the rank and file feels we have no business in this war."

"I'm against the war," Richard Dixon, a delegate from Local 1410 of the Laborers International Union in Dayton, said. "I don't believe in this country involving itself in wars in other countries, taking people's lives. I guess you got to get radical. Then something will be done."

Tom Simon, a steelworker from Local 1200 in Canton, says he opposed the war for many years. "None of the three candidates were saying they were opposed to the war in 1968," Simon said. "So who do you vote for and how do you end it?"

A New Merit Pamphlet

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

OPENING OF CHICAGO SOCIALIST SUMMER SCHOOL. BUILDING THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY— First of six classes on this topic. Teacher: Lynn Henderson, 1970 SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Ill. Monday, June 22, 7:30 p.m. 180 N. Wacker, Rm. 310. Classes every Monday and Thursday, 7:30 p.m. Cost: 35c per session; $5 for entire summer.

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Jordan Terrell, 60, is a member of the executive board of Local 5 of the Rubber Workers in Akron. "I think we should pull out," Terrell told *The Militant*. "The doggone war is for the rich man. You'll be surprised how many millionaires get rich off the war. "And they're taxing us to death. If the big rich man goes out to fight we'll never have a war. We'll always have peace."

One theme that constantly ran through the comments of delegates was the fear of seeing their sons go off to fight and possibly die in Indochina.

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But not all the delegates favored getting out of Indochina, as the near 50-50 vote on the resolution indicated. The interviews obtained by *The Militant* also reflected this division.

"They should get in and fight it," says a 24-year-old delegate from the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers Local 2158 in Mansfield.

Many felt as Robert Litter, delegate from District 28, Steelworkers Local 1298. "I'm not a Nixon man, but as long as he's running the country, I got to stick with him."

A few echoed the thoughts of Mary Stump of Finley, Ohio, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1907. "I think the young people in this country should realize that we fought to get what we got. I don't like the war. But I didn't like World War II. I think what college students need is a strap across the back. I don't have any boys," she adds. "I might feel differently if I did."

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A New Merit Pamphlet

Leon Trotsky

Marxism in Our Time

48 pp *65c*

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Black high schoolers initiate protests in Athens, Georgia

By DERRICK MORRISON

ATHENS, Ga.—This Georgia city is 65 miles west of Augusta. Of the 2,000 national guardsmen sent into Augusta on Tuesday, May 12, in the aftermath of the police massacre of six Blacks, 200 were soon transferred to Athens to quell demonstrations here.

The action in Athens was initiated by Black high school students. Their target was the desegregation plan of the Clark County school board. As in other areas of the South, following the federal school desegregation order issued earlier this year, the plan is being implemented to the detriment of the Black community.

Traditionally, two formal educational systems have existed in the South, one for the Black community and the other for the white community. Even though both are run by one school board, which is predominately white in most cases, there is an all-Black administrative and teaching staff for the Black schools and a corresponding all-white one for the white schools.

Recently, in Georgia, the predominately Black 13,000 member Georgia Teachers and Education Association [GTEA] merged with the predominately white 30,000 member Georgia Education Association [GEA]. The product was the Georgia Association of Educators [GAE]. The two organizations were the segregated state chapters of the National Education Association. The NEA had ordered the merger, under pressure of the breakdown of overt segregation in the South. Despite this unification on the state level, most of the locals of the two former organizations remain segregated, due to the racist leanings of most white teachers.

In the merger process though, Dr. Horace Tate, who was the executive director of the GTEA, became associate executive director of the GAE. This demotion of Tate is symbolic of what is happening to the Black community in these desegregation plans. The Black high school is usually converted into a junior high, and then many members of the all-Black teaching and administrative staffs are either demoted or not rehired. This is what began the Black student protests in Athens.

The plan of the Clark County school board was to turn the all-Black Burney-Harris High School into a facility for use of 10th grade classes only. This measure would leave the 11th and 12th grade classes at Athens High School.

Photo by Dale Hardman/Great Speckled Bird

Inside jail after arrests, May 15

But Athens High, with a student population of 1,545, doesn't know how to treat its presently enrolled 120 Black students, let alone some of the 500 Burney-Harris students that are slated to attend next fall. At Athens, Blacks are systematically excluded from extracurricular activities, such as the Archery club and Biology club. The football coach makes sure that no Black student qualifies for the team. There are several Blacks on the basketball

The Blacks attacked the Athens government for breaking up the demonstration, by pointing up the fact that no police were used against a protest march by UG students the previous week. This march, of 3,000 students with no permit, went through the center to town in concert with the nationwide actions against the invasion of Cambodia.

At the end of the week, on Friday, May 15, close to 300 people, half of them white students from UG, tried to stage a protest march in downtown

to Athens to quell demonstrations here.

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Along with these practices, many of the white teachers display racist attitudes in the classroom.

In a statement of grievances written in April, Black students at Athens and Burney-Harris wrote, among other things: "In that the major concern is that of continued white domination and control with a direct and immoral attempt to dehumanize, degrade and destroy the Black child's sense of human worth, pride in his Black identity, and to psychologically destroy his feelings of relativeness to society (by removing all Black identification models such as a Black principal at Burney-Harris, and other public schools in the school district), we are concerned about the tendency of the establishment to remove each year Black principals and teachers under the pretense of quality education and instruction. . . .

"It is our belief that there is a conspiracy on the part of the establishment to eventually remove all Black authority figures within the school system and replace them with whites. . . .

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At the end of the week, on Friday, May 15, close to 300 people, half of them white students from UG, tried to stage a protest march in downtown Athens. With national guardsmen standing by with unsheathed bayonets, 263 people were arrested by police. During the one night that the demonstrators spent in jail, a couple of cops shot tear gas into the jail cells.

Because of the protests against these police actions, the mayor has agreed to talk to the Black students and the Nationa Guard has been removed.

SCLC has vowed to make Athens a target for direct actions against the oppressive conditions in the schools and in the Black community.

From the school conditions just described, it is impossible to see how Black student upheavals will be averted in the fall. And in other schools throughout Georgia and the South, the time bombs planted by the so-called desegregation plans tick away. Since these plans do not desegregate the power, the implementation of these plans will awaken and draw many Afro-Americans into the struggle for Black control of Black education. Thus, the struggle in the South is becoming very similar to that being waged in the North.

APHRA in third issue

Feminist literary magazine

By ELIZABETH BARNES

Given the outpouring of feminist art and literature which has accompanied the rise of women's liberation, it is not surprising that one of the very first publications to come out of the movement was *Aphra*, a literary quarterly. Named in honor of Aphra Behn (1640-1689), the first woman known to have earned her living by writing, *Aphra* was the first magazine to publish Myrna Lamb's play, *What Have You Done For Me Lately.*

The most recent (Spring) issue carries an especially interesting interview with sculptor Louise Nevelson, along with photographic prints of her work. The issue also includes short stories, poems, literary criticism, and a play. Especially good is a review by Gerry Sachs of three films — *The Sterile Cuckoo, Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice,* and *John and Mary.*

According to *Aphra* editor Elizabeth Fisher, the difficulties of putting out Fisher that his compositors refused to set the copy after they saw some of its contents. She said it was somewhat shocking to discover the degree of chauvinism which exists, but this is more than compensated for by the response to the magazine from sisters all over the country. "Women show their support by subscribing and writing us the most wonderful letters," she said.

Discussing the role which a magazine like *Aphra* can play in the movement, Elizabeth Fisher pointed to the fact that many female authors in the past have sympathized with the struggle for freedom for women, but have been afraid to reflect their true feelings in their writings. If women are to live up to their true potential as writers, she said, they must be free from the constraints of the prejudiced, male-dominated literary world. She added that in many ways art can capture and express the reality of women's liberation in a way which argumenta-

A Revised Edition
MALCOLM X

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According to *Aphra* editor Elizabeth Fisher, the difficulties of putting out such a magazine have been more than might meet the eye. The male chauvinism of printers and distributors has been a problem. Major distributors have refused to handle *Aphra* on the grounds that it is a "sex" magazine. A printshop manager told Elizabeth Fisher that his compositors refused to set the copy after they saw some of its contents. She said it was somewhat shocking to discover the degree of chauvinism which exists, but this is more than compensated for by the response to the magazine from sisters all over the country. "Women show their support by subscribing and writing us the most wonderful letters," she said.

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Published in Springtown, Pennsylvania, *Aphra* is probably the first feminist literary magazine in the history of this country. A subscription is $4.00. The address is: *Aphra*, Box 355, Springtown, Penn. 18081.

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"It is our belief that there is a conspiracy on the part of the establishment to eventually remove all Black authority figures within the school system and replace them with whites. . . .

"As we proceed with this integration process, we must realize that it is imperative that Blacks have Black authority figures to identify with and to whom to turn in times of stress, in that it will take 'years' before any Black student can feel that the white establishment or anyone related thereto can be trusted to have their best interest at heart."

Other demands include the request for a Black coach, promotion of Black teachers, and firing of racist white administrators.

On Tuesday, May 12, 200 Black students, including some from the University of Georgia campus, attempted to stage a march in support of their demands. They were dispersed by police with tear gas. The police then proceeded to chase the students while they sprayed pepper fog gas throughout several blocks of the Black community. The next day, the 200 national guardsmen arrived from Augusta.

During the one night that the demonstrators spent in jail, a couple of cops shot tear gas into the jail cells.

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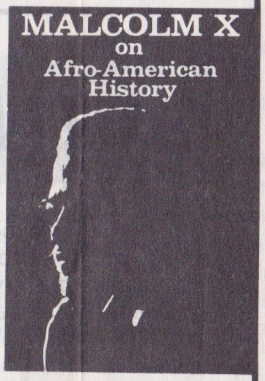

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PATHFINDER PRESS
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A report from Aztlan

Texas Chicanos forge own political power

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The formation of La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano political party, has raised the Chicano struggle for self-determination to a new level.

On April 4, 1970, the slate of La Raza Unida Party swept the school board elections in Crystal City, Texas, defeating the candidates of the Democratic Party. Although the elections were officially "non-partisan" the party affiliations were known to all.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, 25, founder and former state chairman of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), headed a slate of three Chicanos. Elected with Gutierrez were Arturo Gonzales, 21, a gas station attendant, and Miguel Perez, 31, operator of a Chicano dance hall.

Defeated were two Democratic *vendidos* [sellouts], Luz Arcos, 61, a county employee, and Rafael Tovar, 54, a supervisor in the local Delmonte packing plant. Also defeated was rancher E. W. Ritchie, Jr., 46, who in desperation began claiming he was "half Mexican."

On April 7, 1970, La Raza Unida candidates again swept to victory in the city council elections in three cities. In Carrizo Springs, regional headquarters for the Texas Rangers, Rufino Cabello was elected first Chicano

The racist anglo ruling class in Crystal City (or gringos as they are referred to in Texas) gave up trying to run their own people for the city council there eight years ago. Their tactic has been to run *vendidos*, or coconuts (brown on the outside, white on the inside), Chicanos who think like gringos. That is why the city council is composed of five Mexican-Americans and no gringos.

How did it come about that in these elections young militant Chicanos were able to defeat the gringo and *vendido* candidates of the Democratic Party who were backed up by the ranchers and the other monied interests?

To understand this we must look at the city of Cristal, as the Chicanos there refer to Crystal City. Cristal is 85 percent Chicano and 15 percent gringo, with a small number of anglos friendly to La Raza Unida Party. The people there are primarily migrant laborers who must follow the harvest north into Colorado, North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin each spring, work for miserable wages throughout the summer and return home in the fall.

In many cases, families are forced to put all their possessions into hock to raise enough money for the trip to the beet fields. The small amount

of the businesses in the city are also owned by gringos.

In 1962 an attempt was made to give the *mexicano* in Cristal some political representation. PASO (Political Association of Spanish-speaking

ing all the schools in the city.

During the Christmas holidays, teachers came from surrounding areas, Chicano restaurants and beer halls closed and turned over their fa-

A special Militant feature on La Raza Unida Party

A significant recent development has been the growing organization of nationalist sentiment in the Mexican-American, or Chicano, community. This surge of nationalism has propelled sections of the Chicano population in the direction of forming their own independent Chicano political party.

This development has been largely ignored by the capitalist press.

The first annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference of Aztlan, held in Denver in March 1969, adopted a program for the Chicano movement entitled El Plan Espiritual de Aztlan. This program calls for the formation of an independent Chicano party. The conference also raised the concept of Aztlan, which includes all of the southwest United States which originally belonged to Mexico: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado and California. It symbolizes the ongoing struggle of the Chicano people for self-determination and national liberation.

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own political power

By ANTONIO CAMEJO

The formation of La Raza Unida Party, an independent Chicano political party, has raised the Chicano struggle for self-determination to a new level.

On April 4, 1970, the slate of La Raza Unida Party swept the school board elections in Crystal City, Texas, defeating the candidates of the Democratic Party. Although the elections were officially "non-partisan" the party affiliations were known to all.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, 25, founder and former state chairman of the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO), headed a slate of three Chicanos. Elected with Gutierrez were Arturo Gonzales, 21, a gas station attendant, and Miguel Perez, 31, operator of a Chicano dance hall.

Defeated were two Democratic *vendidos* [sellouts], Luz Arcos, 61, a county employee, and Rafael Tovar, 54, a supervisor in the local Delmonte packing plant. Also defeated was rancher E. W. Ritchie, Jr., 46, who in desperation began claiming he was "half Mexican."

On April 7, 1970, La Raza Unida candidates again swept to victory in the city council elections in three cities. In Carrizo Springs, regional headquarters for the Texas Rangers, Rufino Cabello was elected first Chicano mayor in the city's history. In Cotulla, Raza Unida candidate Alfredo Zamora was elected mayor. In both cities, an additional Raza Unida councilman was elected. In Crystal City two Raza Unida councilmen were elected to the five-member city council, which for several years has been all-Chicano.

The racist anglo ruling class in Crystal City (or gringos as they are referred to in Texas) gave up trying to run their own people for the city council there eight years ago. Their tactic has been to run *vendidos*, or coconuts (brown on the outside, white on the inside), Chicanos who think like gringos. That is why the city council is composed of five Mexican-Americans and no gringos.

How did it come about that in these elections young militant Chicanos were able to defeat the gringo and *vendido* candidates of the Democratic Party who were backed up by the ranchers and the other monied interests?

To understand this we must look at the city of Cristal, as the Chicanos there refer to Crystal City. Cristal is 85 percent Chicano and 15 percent gringo, with a small number of anglos friendly to La Raza Unida Party. The people there are primarily migrant laborers who must follow the harvest north into Colorado, North Dakota, Minnesota and Wisconsin each spring, work for miserable wages throughout the summer and return home in the fall.

In many cases, families are forced to put all their possessions into hock to raise enough money for the trip to the beet fields. The small amount of money they bring back barely gives them enough to get out of hock and survive the winter months.

Median family income in Zavala County where Cristal is located, is $1,754 per year. The median educational level is 2.3 grades, which is lower than some impoverished Latin American nations. All the agricultural land is owned by gringos, 95 percent of the businesses in the city are also owned by gringos.

In 1962 an attempt was made to give the *mexicano* in Cristal some political representation. PASO (Political Association of Spanish-speaking Organizations) got some Mexican-American Democrats together and ran them for office against the gringo incumbents. In the 1963 elections they succeeded in throwing out the gringo mayor of some 38 years in Cristal, as well as creating the all-Chicano city council. They also had successes in other surrounding counties.

PASO, which had not built up any kind of an independent mass movement, became frightened by the unexpected victory. It abandoned the candidates, eventually losing almost all posts within four years. PASO today is the Texas version of the California Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA) — vote getters for the

During the Christmas holidays, teachers came from surrounding areas, Chicano restaurants and beer halls closed and turned over their facilities for classroom space, and workers used their trucks for busses to transport students to a Chicano freedom school.

Many of the students who at first were not very political quickly began seeing things in their true light. The assistant principal of the high school, a Chicano, was mayor of the city. But it wasn't until they saw his reactionary role during the strike that they made the connection that he was also a *vendido* Chicano. Likewise with the two Chicano teachers who also served on the city council. Thus the real basis for the independent campaign of La Raza Unida Party came out of the desire of the parents and students to

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Camejo and Lozada will make a tour of Aztlan

By SHARON CABANISS

SAN FRANCISCO — On June 16 the California Socialist Workers Campaign Committee will launch a tour of Aztlan, that southwestern section of the U. S. which contains the vast majority of the Chicano population. Antonio Camejo, candidate for California superintendent of public instruction, and Froben Lozada, candidate for attorney general, will tour this area until July 31.

The main purpose of the tour is to help build the National Chicano Moratorium demonstration against the Vietnam war scheduled for Los Angeles Aug. 29 and to publicize the recently issued Denver call for an independent Chicano political party. The candidates want to bring to the attention of Chicanos throughout Aztlan the important developments of the La Raza Unida Party in Southwest Texas, which set the example of what can be done through independent political action.

The candidates plan to build support for the Moratorium and to help mobilize thousands of Chicanos from the Southwest to attend. Froben Lozada is the cochairman of the Northern California Chicano Moratorium Committee, which is organizing a big demonstration in San Francisco May 30.

Lozada and Camejo will speak on "The Chicano Struggle against the War in Southeast Asia" and "Dynamics of the Independent Chicano Party." They also plan to give special classes during the Socialist Summer Schools scheduled in many areas along their route.

Both candidates have been active in publicizing the decisions of the March 1970 Denver Youth Conference, which called for an independent Chicano party.

The California SWP candidates are known for their active support and participation in the struggle for Chicano self-determination. Froben Lozada is the chairman of the Latin and

(Continued on page 10)

Camejo-Lozada tour schedule

Bay Area Send-off	June 12
Denver-Boulder, Colo.	June 18-21
Albuquerque, N.M.	June 23
San Antonio, Texas	June 25-26
Crystal City, Texas	June 27
Laredo, Texas	June 28
Brownsville-Mission, Texas	June 29-July 1
Kingsville-Alice, Texas	July 2-3
Houston, Texas	July 4-6
Austin, Texas	July 7-9
San Antonio, Texas	July 10
El Paso, Texas	July 11-12
Tucson-Phoenix, Ariz.	July 14-15
San Diego, Calif.	July 17-20
Mexico City	July 21-24
Los Angeles, Calif.	July 25-28

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But in 1970 something new was added to the picture. La Raza Unida Party came out of a mass movement which developed as a result of the school walkouts in Cristal. Secondly, unlike PASO, La Raza Unida Party does not view itself as simply an electoral coalition to elect candidates, but as a political party in the full sense of the word — participating in strikes, boycotts of gringo-owned businesses, and the fight for community control of the schools.

In the spring of 1969, Cristal students raised a series of demands for improvement of the schools. The school board and the administration, however, succeeded in intimidating the students into capitulation.

The resentments and desire for change were not dissipated, however, and remained under the surface until December when again the Chicano students rallied around demands calling for bilingual education, participation in federal programs, such as a lunch program, better physical plant conditions, Chicano counselors, scholarships, the right to bring whatever literature they wanted into the schools, and an end to racist practices in selection of cheer leaders.

The result was one of the best organized and most successful school walkouts in Texas, and probably in the Southwest. Approximately 1,700 out of 2,300 students in grades one through 12 walked out, virtually clos-

Many of the students who at first were not very political quickly began seeing things in their true light. The assistant principal of the high school, a Chicano, was mayor of the city. But it wasn't until they saw his reactionary role during the strike that they made the connection that he was also a *vendido* Chicano. Likewise with the two Chicano teachers who also served on the city council. Thus the real basis for the independent campaign of La Raza Unida Party came out of the desire of the parents and students to throw out the existing racist school board and city council.

But the involvement of the Chicano community quickly went beyond the issue of the schools. Students who were fired from their jobs in local stores for participating in mass marches and rallies were quickly backed up by the entire community which proceeded to boycott those stores.

But they didn't stop there. They contacted the parent company and applied for their own franchises to compete with the gringo stores. This resulted in the opening up of community-controlled Chicano businesses. Much of the financing for La Raza Unida Party and other community projects has come out of these small businesses.

Furthermore, to show their attitude toward Chicano *vendidos*, they boycotted the cleaners owned by the *vendido* Chicano school board member.

For about a week, the community went to the gringo cleaners in town to drive home the point that they would not tolerate one Chicano exploiting another. They then proceeded to set up a community cleaners. As result of these actions no more students were fired from their jobs.

Students put a coat of brown paint on a statue of Popeye, symbol of the spinach industry, that stands in front of City Hall. After two and a half months (17 actual school days) the school board capitulated.

This would have been a resounding

(Continued on page 12)

The road to Chicano power

MAYO leader urges La Raza party

The following are excerpts from the introductory remarks made by Mario Compean at a May 4, 1970, meeting in San Antonio called by the Mexican-American Youth Organization (MAYO) where the principal speaker was Jose Angel Gutierrez of La Raza Unida Party. Compean is the chairman of the Texas-based MAYO.

* * *

Tonight I want to speak to you on two subjects. The first concerns the definition of what we interpret to be the Chicano movement. Secondly, and more specifically, the politics of the movement. The election results [of the May 2 Democratic primaries] make it imperative for me to relate these two things to San Antonio.

For many years people spoke of the passivity of La Raza. Well, in 1963 there was an awakening. There was an awakening of what the sociologists and people in general had called a sleeping giant. In 1963 in Crystal City Chicanos took over the city government and inspired people elsewhere to become active. . . . As a result of all this activity, this awakening, we have had — especially in Texas — a concerted effort to make the mexicano visible in every aspect of society — economically, politically and otherwise. Since so many people have their own version, their own ideas, their own concepts of what this kind of movement is, it is necessary to touch on the major approaches.

There is the extreme radicalism as is practiced by some in the movement. To the conservative and the moderate it means working within the system slowly for the betterment of the mexicano. The more militant base their approach on making the institutions, gringo institutions, respond to the needs of people. And the way to do it is by confronting it to the limit, so that the confrontation remains peaceful so long as the other side wants it to remain peaceful. Then there are the very extreme radicals, the ones who advocate violent confrontations.

At some point violent confrontations may be necessary for everybody, when the time is right. Probably it will happen, because everything seems to be pointing in that direction — not because the people want it that way, but because the institutions still refuse to respond whenever we demand our rights peacefully. They refuse to respond, so inevitably there will be violent outbreaks, and I am sure that people will be hurt on both sides. But it will be absolutely necessary for us to get justice.

I talk about that because for three years, on every occasion that MAYO has made statements, implications have been made about what we have said. We have said that violence would come. Many implied from that that MAYO would possibly initiate it. But it has not happened. It has not happened because we are leading a mass group of people whose lives have to be considered before any action is taken. And in the long run, we have to weigh which would do more good and who will be hurt the most. Leaders come and go but the people remain.

Raza — most of all economically, but socially and politically as well. MAYO began by articulating its positions, describing its tactics. Then we began implementing programs. . . . A month ago you saw some other results in the political arena [the electoral victory of La Raza Unida Party in Zavala, LaSalle and Dimmit counties].

Because of these successes, MAYO has achieved a legitimate position in the eyes of the public. At the same time, however, we have been attacked by the extreme leftists as establishment-oriented, liberals, sellouts. But, as I said, in the end we will see who are the real sellouts.

I would like to talk about politics because it is in politics that MAYO has had more prominence and success. This has a great meaning and importance for San Antonio because it is here that we will possibly have, next to Los Angeles, the largest Chicano community in the United States. It is here in this county that we have a majority, as the census will reveal in the coming months. Over 50 percent of the population will be Mexican-American. It has special significance because here in Bexar County the mexicano has little, as is the case elsewhere.

We have elected a few officials, but never have we had enough to really control, which really makes the difference. Until we control, we will not have power. We talk about Chicano power. Controlling the institutions that have to be made relevant to our needs is Chicano power.

In Bexar County the educational level, as elsewhere, is extremely low.

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Gutierrez: M in control of

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There is the extreme radicalism as is practiced by some in the movement. There is the more mild militancy as practiced by others. And then there is the moderate approach, and still even a conservative approach.

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To MAYO, this kind of movement has meant overall betterment for La

CHICANO SCHOOL POWER. Jose Angel Gutierrez, La Raza Unida leader and president of Crystal City School Board (center) at May 11 board meeting. At left is Miguel Perez, La Raza Unida board member. Jesus Gamez, right, is attorney for board.

...Camejo-Lozada tour

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In Bexar County the educational level, as elsewhere, is extremely low. Economically, we have nothing. So in building out programs we have to take these things into consideration and all the time push for control. . . . I think we Chicanos will never have anything that means anything until we have political power. And I think that the only way that the Chicano will ever have political power is through an independent political party, a Chicano party, La Raza Unida Party. (Applause)

In terms of San Antonio, there is no reason why Chicanos in San Antonio should not be in control. There is no reason why there should not be a Raza Unida Party in Bexar County. Until we have such a thing, we will not be able to have any meaningful power in this city. MAYO will be in the forefront of putting this political strategy, as was done in South Texas, into practice in San Antonio and elsewhere in the state.

We have the greatest expectations. Everything points in that direction. We saw that Ralph Yarborough lost. People are wondering what happened. I'll tell you what happened. Ralph Yarborough made the greatest mistake that any politician can make. He failed to recognize the potential and the importance of the Chicano vote. (Applause)

The time has come when the Chicanos cannot be taken for granted

Migrant la

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For years the Chicano farmworker has made up the majority of the population in the South Texas counties. But he goes trucking across this country on his summer vacation (laughter), and so he's never there to vote. Yet this is precisely the time the primaries are held — in May. And he is already vacationing in his resort area by the time the runoffs are held in June. So, you see, we are in fact not even able to vote.

We have had other problems which we have known about for a long time. For instance, the fact that the mexicano can't cope with the culture of the monolingual creatures that abound in South Texas. You see, we're literate in Spanish, so we can't recognize the name of John Waltberger on the ballot, but we sure as hell recognize Juan Garcia. (Laughter)

Supposedly in this kind of a democratic society the citizenry is encouraged to participate in the political process — but not so in South Texas.

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...Camejo-Lozada tour

(Continued from page 9)

Mexican-American Studies Department at Merritt College in Oakland, where he has played a key role in the reconstitution of the department into an antiwar and Chicano Moratorium organizing center. The Chicano Studies Department at Merritt has become the example for Chicano students and faculty on how to control their education and relate it to the broader community.

The candidates are planning to speak to Chicano groups and at universities throughout this area. Anyone interested in setting up or attending a speaking engagement, meeting, or class for the candidates in the above areas should write immediately to the SWP Campaign Committee, 2338 Market St., San Francisco, Calif. 94114; (415) 863-5197.

When the candidates return to California, they will tour the state to publicize the development of the Chicano movement throughout Aztlan. They will continue to build the Moratorium and support for the Chicano party.

Local SWP campaign committees are now in the process of raising money to finance this tour. If *Militant* readers would like to help, please send contributions to the above address. Remember, $1 will take them 10 miles further.

Be sure to follow the candidates' tour in the *Militant* reports and special features they will be sending in.

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The time has come when the Chicanos cannot be taken for granted any longer. Politicians of all kinds will have to keep reminding themselves that the Chicanos are a potent political force. Therefore, the worst mistake any politician can make is to forget the Chicano. (Applause)

People are asking now, "Well, what about November? Does this mean that Chicanos are not going to vote for Roy Bentsen [Democratic candidate for state senator], that they should vote for Bush [Bentsen's Republican opponent]? "Well, there is no difference between the two. The only visible difference that I see is that Bush has a prettier smile. (Laughter and applause) In San Antonio there will be a Raza Unida Party in 1972. (Applause and cheers) The only thing that can keep us from achieving this is La Raza itself.

As you know, there is a new political party in Southwest Texas. It's called La Raza Unida Party. The history of this party is rather interesting.

For years the Chicano farmworker has made up the majority of the population in the South Texas counties. But he goes trucking across this country on his summer vacation (laughter), and so he's never there to vote. Yet this is precisely the time the primaries are held—in May. And he is already vacationing in his resort area by the time the runoffs are held in June. So, you see, we are in fact not even able to vote.

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Supposedly in this kind of a democratic society the citizenry is encouraged to participate in the political process—but not so in South Texas.

Someone asked me recently whether I thought any type of system other than the American political system could work in South Texas. I thought about it for a minute and suggested that the question be reworded because we ought to try the American system first. (Applause)

They accuse me and mexicanos in Cristal [Crystal City], in Cotulla and Carrizo Springs, of being unfair. One gringo lady put it very well. She was being interviewed around April 6, right after the school board elections and before the city council elections. The guy from *Newsweek* asked her to explain the strange phenomena that were occurring in these counties: a tremendous voter turnout and a tremendous amount of bloc voting. She

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Friday, June 19, 1970

Photos this page by Antonio Camejo

Migrant laborers pick onions in Zavala County, Texas

Gutierrez: Mexicanos need to be in control of their own destinies'

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said, "Well, this is just terrible! Horrible! A few days ago we elected a bunch of bum Mexicans to the city council." And the reporter said, "Well,

wise you get nauseous, you get headaches and pains in your stomach.

We were Chicanos who were starved for any kind of meaningful participa-

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By all these little things you can begin to understand how to define the word "gringo," which seems to be such a problem all the time. It's funny, because the mexicano knows what a gringo is. It's the gringos themselves that are worried about what the hell it is. (Laughter) Let me elaborate on it.

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As you know, there is a new political party in Southwest Texas. It's called La Raza Unida Party. The history of this party is rather interesting.

For years the Chicano farmworker has made up the majority of the population in the South Texas counties. But he goes trucking across this country on his summer vacation (laughter), and so he's never there to vote. Yet this is precisely the time the primaries are held—in May. And he is already vacationing in his resort area by the time the runoffs are held in June. So, you see, we are in fact not even able to vote.

We have had other problems which we have known about for a long time. For instance, the fact that the mexicano can't cope with the culture of the monolingual creatures that abound in South Texas. You see, we're literate in Spanish, so we can't recognize the name of John Waltberger on the ballot, but we sure as hell recognize Juan Garcia. (Laughter)

Supposedly in this kind of a democratic society the citizenry is encouraged to participate in the political process—but not so in South Texas.

Someone asked me recently whether I thought any type of system other than the American political system could work in South Texas. I thought about it for a minute and suggested that the question be reworded because we ought to try the American system first. (Applause)

They accuse me and mexicanos in Cristal [Crystal City], in Cotulla and Carrizo Springs, of being unfair. One gringo lady put it very well. She was being interviewed around April 6, right after the school board elections and before the city council elections. The guy from *Newsweek* asked her to explain the strange phenomena that were occurring in these counties: a tremendous voter turnout and a tremendous amount of bloc voting. She They think they ought to run this place!"

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There is only one other kind of individual who does that kind of work and that's a prostitute. . . .

Four years ago, when the guy who is now running for commissioner in La Salle County in La Raza Unida Party ran in the Democratic primaries, it cost him one-third of his annual income! That's how much it costs a Chicano with a median income of $1,574 per family per year. With the third party it didn't cost him a cent.

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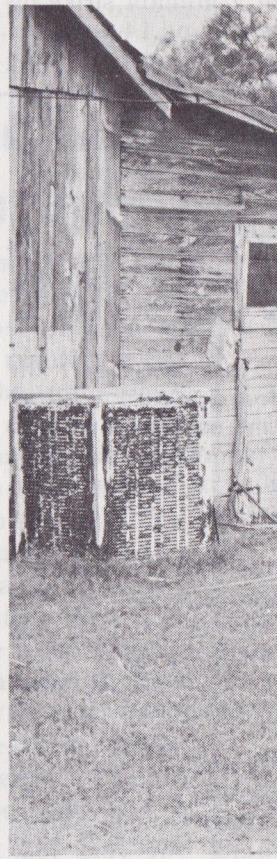

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Photos this page by Antonio Camejo

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Mexicanos need to be their own destinies'

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We were Chicanos who were starved for any kind of meaningful participa-

activity, knowing that we have to migrate to make a living. We are simply not here for the May primaries. Did you know that in Cotulla, Erasmo Andrade [running in the Democratic primary for state senator in opposition to Wayne Connally] lost by over 300 votes because the migrants weren't there? In the Democratic primaries you're not going to cut it. In May there are only 16 more Chicano votes than gringo votes in La Salle County. But in November the margin is two and one-half to one in favor of Chicanos.

So you see that what's happening is not any big miracle. It's just common sense. The trouble is that everybody was always bothered and said, "We can't get out of the Democratic Party. Why bite the hand that feeds you?" Well, you bite it because it feeds you slop. (Laughter and applause) Others say, "Well, why don't you switch over and join the Republican Party?" Well, let's not even touch on that one.

Why can't you begin to think very selfishly as a Chicano? I still haven't found a good argument from anyone as to why we should not have a Chicano party. Particularly when you are the majority. If you want to implement and see democracy in action — the will of the majority — you are not going to do it in the Democratic Party. You can only do it through a Chicano party. (Applause)

But you see there is another, more important, reason, and that is that mexicanos need to be in control of their destiny. They need to make their own decisions. We need to make the decisions that are going to affect our brothers and maybe our children. We have been complacent for too long.

Did you know that not one of our candidates in La Salle County had a job the whole time they were running, and that they still can't get jobs? The same thing happened in Dimmit Coun-

Do you think things are going to get better by putting faith in the Democratic Party and Bentsen? Or that things are going to get better because you've got a few more Chicanos elected to office now within the traditional parties? Do you think that things are going to get better now that the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights has officially claimed that there is discrimination against mexicanos? They've finally found out it's for real — we're discriminated against! (Laughter) Do you think that things are going to get better simply because kids are walking out of schools — kids who can't vote, who in many cases can't convince the community to stand behind them?

No, it's not going to get better. We are going to have to devise some pretty ingenious ways of eliminating these gringos. Yet they don't really have to be too ingenious. All you have to do is go out there and look around and have a little common sense.

It stands to reason that if there are two grocery stores in town and we are the ones who buy from them, then if we stop buying from them they are going to go down. If you talk about transferring the wealth, that's how you do it. . . .

In 1960 there were 26 Texas counties in which Chicanos were a majority, yet not one of those counties was in the control of Chicanos. If you want to stand there and take that you can. You can be perfectly content just like your father and your grandfather were, *con el sombrero en el mano* [with hat in hand].

That's why most of our traditional organizations will sit there and pass resolutions and mouth off at conventions, but they'll never take on the gringo. They'll never stand up to him and say, "Hey, man, things have got to change from now on. *Que pase lo que pase* [Let whatever happens happen]. We've had it long enough!"

This is what we've got to start doing.

Photos this page by Antonio Camejo

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You've got a median educational level among mexicanos in Zavala County of 2.3 grades. In La Salle it's just a little worse—about 1.5 grades.

The median family income in La Salle is $1,574 a year. In Zavala it's about $1,754. The ratio of doctors, the number of newspapers, the health, housing, hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy, poverty, lack of political representation—all these things put together spell one word: colonialism. You've got a handful of gringos controlling the lives of muchos mexicanos. And it's been that way for a long time.

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This is what we've got to start doing. If you don't go third party, then you've got to go the independent route, because there is no other way you are going to get on the November ballot. And don't try to put in a write-in candidate. That never works. . . .

The recent elections here in April for school board and city council demonstrated something that many people knew was a fact. It was almost like predicting that the sun is going to come up in the morning; if you can count, you know what the results are going to be. But an interesting factor is going to enter in now. We won in an off year in the nonpartisan races, which means that we were able to elect a minority to these positions. So now the establishment has all summer long to figure out how to stop the mexicano. This is

(Continued on page 13)

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CRYSTAL CITY, USA. Housing conditions in Crystal City. Mexicanos harvest crops for wealthy gringo landowners and have a median family income of $1,754 a year. La Raza Unida Party aims to change that.

... REPORT FROM AZTLAN

In Crystal City

(Continued from page 9)

victory in itself. But the Chicano community was not about to let up on its initiative. The high school students, together with the adults, mounted a voter registration campaign which put La Raza Party on the ballot in three cities and netted an almost 100 percent registration among *mexicanos.*

This was a first in the history of Texas and without doubt in all of Aztlan. Maximum voter registration had varied from 15 to 30 percent, as is the case throughout Texas. The power of this burgeoning movement rightly frightened the local ruling class (100 percent gringo) who desparately tried to hinder the party legally.

While the board had previously consisted of six gringos and one *vendido* Chicano, it now consisted of three Raza Unida members, three gringos, and the *vendido* who decided to move to the left, giving La Raza Unida Party a majority.

Jose Angel Gutierrez, new president of the board by a 4-3 vote, called the meeting to order.

Among the points discussed were the following: The school district would build houses for school employees, but rent would be based on a percentage of the individual's salary. From now on the school buses had to patronize all gas stations equally, including the Chicano gas stations, such as the one where board member Arturo Gonzales

for the board successfully won the case in court, and at the May 11 meeting, Gutierrez matter-of-factly presented the superintendent, a gringo at least twice his age, with a bill for $2,500 for services rendered by Attorney Gamez and told him, "See that it's taken care of."

The comeuppance of the gringo board members evoked a very apparent manifestation of pride and elation in the Chicano audience.

Toward the end of the board meeting, Armando Trevino, brother of walkout leader Mario Trevino, pointed out to the board that in a school that was 85 percent Chicano, 20 out of the 25 chosen for the National Honor Society were anglos. (The five Mexican-Americans were considered vendidos by the Chicano students.)

One anglo teacher denied that there had been any discrimination, that it was only because more Chicanos "weren't qualified." Armando Trevino replied, "This happened when I was in school, and it is still happening that qualified students are not elected by teachers . . . I would like the school board to look into it."

One of the gringo board members, typically, objected to discussing this point because it wasn't on the agenda. But this was a new school board now, a Chicano school board. Gutierrez quickly responded: "If there is any problem that any one student or parent has we will always incorporate it into the agenda."

He then added, "This board is not going to stand for any kind of discrimination. And any time an allega-

easy to understand why the ruling powers in Texas are worried about the turn of events.

At almost every meeting of the school board since the elections, anglo lawyers, from as far away as Dallas and Houston, have been present in the hope of catching La Raza Unida board members on something. But the Chicano community is standing firm. An oppressed people have gotten a little taste of freedom and they are not about to let that go without a fight.

Rather than being intimidated, the new Chicano party is projecting an ambitious organizing drive which could see the party on the ballot in 26 South Texas counties by 1972.

As the result of an open nominating convention of La Raza Unida Party May 2, the gringo power structure (i.e., the Democratic Party) will face some 40 Chicano candidates in the Nov. 3 elections. La Raza Unida is running a full slate of candidates in the counties of Zavala, La Salle, Dimmit and Hidalgo for all county offices.

The giant step that has been taken in South Texas is an example of what can be done throughout Aztlan. There are scores of cities in Aztlan where the Chicano is a majority. But even in cities where the Chicano makes up only 10 or 20 percent of the population, significant gains can be made by breaking politically from the two capitalist parties. The fight for community control can be a dynamic force if properly led by an independent Chicano political party.

What is needed, however, is to *mobilize* people into action around such demands as community control of the schools in the Chicano community.

What is needed are Raza Unida parties everywhere throughout Aztlan. Such a party will have to continually struggle against those who want to channel every movement for social change into support of the gringo ruling class through the Democratic Par-

In Crystal City

(Continued from page 9)

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Pablo Puente, Raza Unida candidate for city council, was ruled off the ballot in Cristal on the basis of a municipal law requiring candidates to own property. But they succeeded in having the law ruled unconstitutional in the federal courts. Puente was placed on the ballot and subsequently won the election along with Ventura Gonzales, Jr.

La Raza Unida Party also succeeded in forcing the Civil Rights Commission to come to Cristal to observe the elections so that the ranchers and agribusinessmen could not blatantly intimidate people with threats of violence, loss of job for voting, or tamper with the ballots.

The real significance of the electoral victory for the Chicano community in Cristal was apparent at a board of education meeting I attended May 11. The meeting was held in the high school cafeteria, which was packed to overflowing with at least 250 people, predominantly Chicano.

You can help

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On all controversial points such as the denial of contracts for the fall to two racist teachers, the vote was four Chicanos, *si*, three gringos, *no.*

The most controversial point, however, was reflected in the minutes of a special meeting of the school board held on April 27. At this meeting Gutierrez suggested that Cristal accept transfers from the Uvalde School District. The motion itself was routine and harmless enough — on the surface. It touched off a heated fight and a lawsuit.

Uvalde is a town similar to Cristal about 40 miles to the north. It had been the scene of a militant strike by Chicano students around 14 demands such as: the right of teachers to be politically active without intimidation (Josue Garcia, candidate of La Raza Unida Party for county judge, was fired from his teaching job); bilingual education; Chicano studies; more Chicanos

walkout leader Mario Trevino, pointed out to the board that in a school that was 85 percent Chicano, 20 out of the 25 chosen for the National Honor Society were anglos. (The five Mexican-Americans were considered vendidos by the Chicano students.)

One anglo teacher denied that there had been any discrimination, that it was only because more Chicanos "weren't qualified." Armando Trevino replied, "This happened when I was in school, and it is still happening that qualified students are not elected by teachers . . . I would like the school board to look into it."

One of the gringo board members, typically, objected to discussing this point because it wasn't on the agenda. But this was a new school board now, a Chicano school board. Gutierrez quickly responded: "If there is any problem that any one student or parent has we will always incorporate it into the agenda."

He then added, "This board is not going to stand for any kind of discrimination. And any time an allegation of this nature is made we are going to look into it." A committee headed up by Gutierrez was formed on the spot to investigate the charge.

One could not help but be overcome by what was occurring in that room in South Texas. For the first time, the majority of the people, the Chicano people, were running the schools and beginning to mete out justice to racist teachers and administrators. The Chicano community was being heard before its own school board, rather than being insulted by a gringo board representing a tiny minority.

This reality has already resulted in important gains for the entire Chicano community. By a simple motion of the Chicano board, for example, free breakfast is now provided for every child in every school.

Gutierrez aims to improve the schools and make the education there relevant to Chicanos and thus cut down the 71 percent dropout rate.

The Chicano community has been faced with difficult problems from the beginning of this endeavor. Over 16 anglo teachers resigned from the schools because of the victory of La

running a full slate of candidates in the counties of Zavala, La Salle, Dimmit and Hidalgo for all county offices.

The giant step that has been taken in South Texas is an example of what can be done throughout Aztlan. There are scores of cities in Aztlan where the Chicano is a majority. But even in cities where the Chicano makes up only 10 or 20 percent of the population, significant gains can be made by breaking politically from the two capitalist parties. The fight for community control can be a dynamic force if properly led by an independent Chicano political party.

What is needed, however, is to *mobilize* people into action around such demands as community control of the schools in the Chicano community.

What is needed are Raza Unida parties everywhere throughout Aztlan. Such a party will have to continually struggle against those who want to channel every movement for social change into support of the gringo ruling class through the Democratic Party, on the one hand, and those ultra-leftists who consider electoral activity "meaningless" and therefore give a free hand to capitalist politicians in keeping the Chicano and Latino communities under illusions and "under control."

The success of La Raza Unida Party in South Texas should be an inspiration to create two, three, many Cristals. As Gutierrez pointed out on May 4, 1970: "Aztlan has begun, in the southwest part of Texas."

pal law requiring candidates to own property. But they succeeded in having the law ruled unconstitutional in the federal courts. Puente was placed on the ballot and subsequently won the election along with Ventura Gonzales, Jr.

La Raza Unida Party also succeeded in forcing the Civil Rights Commission to come to Cristal to observe the elections so that the ranchers and agribusinessmen could not blatantly intimidate people with threats of violence, loss of job for voting, or tamper with the ballots.

The real significance of the electoral victory for the Chicano community in Cristal was apparent at a board of education meeting I attended May 11. The meeting was held in the high school cafeteria, which was packed to overflowing with at least 250 people, predominantly Chicano.

You can help La Raza Unida

The candidates of La Raza Unida Party are working men and women, most of them unemployed as the result of a conscious policy of the anglo-owned businesses. The mayor of Cotulla, Alfredo Zamora, still can't get a job in his own town. In an area where the median family income is under $1,800 a year, financing a campaign is not an easy matter. Financial contributions are most welcome and may be sent to: La Raza Unida Party, c/o Jose Angel Gutierrez, 124 West Edwards St., Crystal City, Texas. Chicano teachers who are interested in working in the first Chicano-controlled school district in Aztlan should also contact Gutierrez.

Employment of personnel for school maintenance must reflect the composition of the community which is 85 percent Chicano.

On all controversial points such as the denial of contracts for the fall to two racist teachers, the vote was four Chicanos, *si*, three gringos, *no*.

The most controversial point, however, was reflected in the minutes of a special meeting of the school board held on April 27. At this meeting Gutierrez suggested that Cristal accept transfers from the Uvalde School District. The motion itself was routine and harmless enough — on the surface. It touched off a heated fight and a lawsuit.

Uvalde is a town similar to Cristal about 40 miles to the north. It had been the scene of a militant strike by Chicano students around 14 demands such as: the right of teachers to be politically active without intimidation (Josue Garcia, candidate of La Raza Unida Party for county judge, was fired from his teaching job); bilingual education; Chicano studies; more Chicano teachers; the right to bring any literature into the schools; revision of racist text books; and amnesty for striking students upon returning to school.

As in Cristal last December, the Uvalde school board refused to accept the demands of the students and used every means of intimidation, such as arrests, and denial of graduation to seniors, in an attempt to break the walkout.

The students in Uvalde, many of them MAYO activists, turned to Cristal for aid. Attorney Jesus Gamez, now the official attorney of both the Cristal school board and the city council, represented the students before the Uvalde board.

But aid was even more direct. Gutierrez held that if Uvalde wouldn't graduate the striking seniors, then Cristal High School would. The vote: four Chicanos, si, three gringos, no.

The defeated minority on the board then took the board of education to court. Jesus Gamez as the attorney on the spot to investigate the charge.

One could not help but be overcome by what was occurring in that room in South Texas. For the first time, the majority of the people, the Chicano people, were running the schools and beginning to mete out justice to racist teachers and administrators. The Chicano community was being heard before its own school board, rather than being insulted by a gringo board representing a tiny minority.

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Gutierrez aims to improve the schools and make the education there relevant to Chicanos and thus cut down the 71 percent dropout rate.

The Chicano community has been faced with difficult problems from the beginning of this endeavor. Over 16 anglo teachers resigned from the schools because of the victory of La Raza Unida Party. The community needs and wants Chicano teachers, administrators and educators who could help turn the schools of Cristal into real learning centers for the children there. For the first time in its history Cristal has the possibility of providing real education for Chicano youth and adults alike.

The city council is also looking into possible courses of action to improve the living conditions of the population, which every day faces greater unemployment due to the rapid mechanization of agriculture.

It has been revealed, for instance, that the oil companies in Texas have been cheating on taxes by digging wells and then capping them. As long as they are capped, they don't pay taxes. But they have received lucrative loans from banks on the basis of the value of the wells.

If La Raza Unida Party is victorious in the county elections in November, a lawsuit may well follow which could bring in tax revenues to the predominantly Chicano counties. It is hand to capitalist politicians in keeping the Chicano and Latino communities under illusions and "under control."

The success of La Raza Unida Party in South Texas should be an inspiration to create two, three, many Cristals. As Gutierrez pointed out on May 4, 1970: "Aztlan has begun, in the southwest part of Texas."

REFINISHED. This statue of Popeye in front of Crystal City city hall symbolizes "Spinach capital of the world." Chicanos harvest the crops at starvation wages. During high school walkout, Chicano students painted Popeye brown.

Photo by Antonio Camejo

San Antonio audience gives ovation to Jose Gutierrez

'...build your constituencies'

(Continued from page 11)

where we get back to the old tricks and lies of the gringo.

They tried the "outside agitator" bit on me but it didn't work because I

There's no generation gap in Crystal City. To the old people who are experienced this is nothing new. The older people in Crystal City, who have

We are talking about bringing some very basic elements into the lives of mexicanos—like education and like making urban renewal work for mexi-

sections of our communities has been overwhelming. You saw the results. You can count votes just as I did.

The third party is not going to get smaller. It's going to get bigger.

You have three choices. First, you can be very active in this thing. For once we are not talking about being anti-Democratic or pro-Republican or pro-Democrat and anti-Republican. We are talking about being for La Raza, the majority of the people in South Texas. So there are a lot of things you can do and be very actively involved in.

If you don't choose that route, you can stay home and watch baseball and just come out and vote. But otherwise stay home. Don't get in the way.

The third thing you can do is lend your support, your general agreement. Often we are too critical of ourselves, and the gringo misunderstands that. He says, "You're disorganized, there's no unity among you." Hell, he can't understand an honest discussion when he hears one.

So, you've got these three roles that you can play. Or you can get very, very defensive and say, "This is wrong, this is un-American because you're bloc voting." But don't forget that the Democrats do it too. You can say that this is racism in reverse, but don't forget that we are the majority. And you can say that this is going to upset the whole situation in the state of Texas because we will never be able to elect a senator, because we're segregating ourselves and cutting ourselves apart and that this is not what we should be trying to do, that we should be trying to integrate, etc., etc. Well, before you go on your warpath or campaign, come down and tell that to my sheriff. Tell him how much you like him. Or, better yet, move on down the road a bit and tell it to Ranger Allee himself.

Build you constituency, build your community — that's how we will be

Photo by Antonio Camejo

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'...build your constituencies'

(Continued from page 11)

where we get back to the old tricks and lies of the gringo.

They tried the "outside agitator" bit on me but it didn't work because I was born in Crystal City. So they changed gears. Then they tried the "communist" one for a while—until they found out I was in the U. S. Army Reserves. (Laughter and applause) Then somewhere they dug up my "kill a gringo" thing of about a year ago when I said that I would kill a gringo in self-defense if I were attacked. . . .

Another lie is the white liberal approach. "I like Mexican food. Oh, I just love it!" And this is the kind of guy who's got the *molcajete* [Aztec mortar and pestle for cooking] sitting as an ash tray in his living room. (Applause and laughter)

This kind of character is the one that cautions you, "Be careful. Don't be racist in reverse. It's bad enough that gringos don't like "Meskins" and "Meskins" don't like gringos. You have to talk things over. You have to turn the other cheek. You've got to be nice. You've got to be polite. You can't use foul language in public. You have to have a constructive program."

They ask us, "What are you going to do for the schools in Crystal City?" And when we answer, "Bring education," they don't know what the hell we're talking about.

There's no generation gap in Crystal City. To the old people who are experienced this is nothing new. The older people in Crystal City, who have experienced years and years of humiliation and blows to their dignity, know what's going on. There was a problem for a while with the 25- to 45-year-olds who were trying to be gringos. But that's no longer true. You see, those are the parents of these kids, and these kids got their parents straight very early in the game. (Applause). . . .

You know, civil rights are not just for those under 21. They're for everybody—for grandma, for daddy and mama, and *los chamaquitos* [children] and *primos* [cousins] and sisters, and so on. We've all got to work together. That means that all of us have to pitch in. And this is why in Crystal City you no longer hear "Viva La Raza" and "Chicano Power" and "La Raza Unida" all over the place. We don't talk about it anymore because it's a reality. You see, there *la familia mexicana esta organizada* [the Mexican family is organized]. Aztlan has begun in the southwest part of Texas. (Prolonged applause)

Our actions have made "La Raza Unida" more than just a slogan. Beginning with the walkout, we began organizing and moving in to counter-

We are talking about bringing some very basic elements into the lives of mexicanos—like education and like making urban renewal work for mexicanos instead of being the new way of stealing land. We got screwed once with the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo and now we're getting it under "Model Cities" and urban renewal. (Applause)

You can be as imaginative as you want and do almost anything you want once you run units of government. I'll give you an example. Everyone publicizes the fact that the Panthers are feeding kids all over the country. And everybody pours out money at cocktail parties and gets very concerned about little kids eating in the morning.

Well, the gringos in Cristal pulled out another one of their gimmicks and just a few days before the elections they decided to experiment with a pilot program of feeding kids in the morning. It was going to last for six weeks and feed 30 kids. They were going to watch them. They were going to experiment, study, conduct a survey to see if they grew an inch. (Laughter)

Well, right now in Crystal City any kid who wants to eat can eat. Free breakfast in all the schools. You can do that, you see. You can also be very, very friendly to your opposition. You can rule them out of order when they he hears one.

So, you've got these three roles that you can play. Or you can get very, very defensive and say, "This is wrong, this is un-American because you're bloc voting." But don't forget that the Democrats do it too. You can say that this is racism in reverse, but don't forget that we are the majority. And you can say that this is going to upset the whole situation in the state of Texas because we will never be able to elect a senator, because we're segregating ourselves and cutting ourselves apart and that this is not what we should be trying to do, that we should be trying to integrate, etc., etc. Well, before you go on your warpath or campaign, come down and tell that to my sheriff. Tell him how much you like him. Or, better yet, move on down the road a bit and tell it to Ranger Allee himself.

Build you constituency, build your community — that's how we will be electing three and possibly four congressmen in the very near future. There's going to be another congressman in Bexar County, and there's not room for all of them on the North side [anglo section of San Antonio]. (Laughter and applause) So we have some very interesting developments coming up.

To the gringos in the audience, I have one final message to convey: Up yours, baby. You've had it, from now on. (Standing ovation)

Merit Pamphlets

IN DEFENSE OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT

By Ruthann Miller, Mary-Alice Waters, Evelyn Reed 25¢

WOMEN & THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

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They ask us, "What are you going to do for the schools in Crystal City?" And when we answer, "Bring education," they don't know what the hell we're talking about.

You see, that's another thing about the liberal. They always love to make you feel bad. And oh, my God, we hate to hurt the feelings of a good anglo liberal, don't we? Well, hell, tell them the truth!

We've been hurting for a long time. They think we've got education, but we know different. How come we have 71 percent dropouts in Crystal City? It's miseducation. We ain't got teachers down there, we've got neanderthals.

These are the kinds of problems we are going to be faced with by the time November comes along. But a lot of people ain't going to buy it. The kids in the schools aren't going to stand for it. They see what this whole gringo thing has done to their parents, what it's done to our community, what it's done to our organizations. And nothing is going to prevent them from getting what is due them.

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You know, civil rights are not just for those under 21. They're for everybody—for grandma, for daddy and mama, and *los chamaquitos* [children] and *primos* [cousins] and sisters, and so on. We've all got to work together. That means that all of us have to pitch in. And this is why in Crystal City you no longer hear "Viva La Raza" and "Chicano Power" and "La Raza Unida" all over the place. We don't talk about it anymore because it's a reality. You see, there *la familia mexicana esta organizada* [the Mexican family is organized]. Aztlan has begun in the southwest part of Texas. (Prolonged applause)

Our actions have made "La Raza Unida" more than just a slogan. Beginning with the walkout, we began organizing and moving in to counterattack every time the gringo tried to put pressure on the mexicano. Boycott his store. Point the finger at him. Expose him for the animal that he is. Bring in the newspapers and photographers and the tape recorders. Let the world see it. . . .

So don't let anybody kid you. We are the consumers, we are the majority. We can stop anything and we can make anything in South Texas if we stick together and begin using common sense.

This third party is a very viable kind of alternative. It's a solution. For once you can sit in your own courthouse and you don't have to talk about community control because you are the community. And we are not talking about trying to run for Congress because you are sitting on the school board and then four years from now you're going to run for county judge. That's not the name of the game either.

now we're getting it under "Model Cities" and urban renewal. (Applause)

You can be as imaginative as you want and do almost anything you want once you run units of government. I'll give you an example. Everyone publicizes the fact that the Panthers are feeding kids all over the country. And everybody pours out money at cocktail parties and gets very concerned about little kids eating in the morning.

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They can't hold an illegal meeting—like they tried yesterday with the school board while I was out of town. They tried to take advantage of the fact that I was out of town to hold a special meeting. But the law says you must give three days' notice. So the gringos failed in their attempt to hire a principal to their liking. We don't need to be experts in parliamentary procedure. All we have to do is follow the book and tell them, "No, no! You can't do that!" (Laughter and applause)

Let me be serious for a few minutes, because I think we have laughed enough. Mario was talking about having a third party in Bexar County by 1972. Good luck, Mario. (Applause)

It doesn't matter if you don't agree with MAYO because this thing is no longer just MAYO. The response that we've had to this third party in all

There's going to be another congressman in Bexar County, and there's not room for all of them on the North side [anglo section of San Antonio]. (Laughter and applause) So we have some very interesting developments coming up.

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U.S. tied to military clique

Civil war mounts in Cambodia

By DICK ROBERTS

JUNE 17—A full-scale civil war, approaching in scope the one in Vietnam, has developed in Cambodia since the ouster of Prince Norodom Sihanouk March 18.

The Nixon administration is totally committed to maintaining the narrowly based military government of Premier Lon Nol.

This means that—as in Vietnam—the war in Cambodia will continue until antiwar forces in the United States pressure Washington to withdraw completely all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile the total of American GIs killed in the Southeast Asian war has crossed the 50,000 mark. "The total number of combat deaths in Southeast Asia is now listed as 42,425," the *New York Post* reported June 5, "with another 8,023 killed in noncombat activities, particularly accidents."

Washington correspondent for the *New York Times,* Tad Szulc, disclosed the outlines of Nixon's Cambodia policies June 7.

The administration believes that "ways must be found to prevent the collapse of the government of Premier Lon Nol in Pnompenh under mounting Communist military and political pressures," Szulc reported.

This belief rests on recognition that civil war has erupted in Cambodia: ". . . the administration—which, according to most accounts available here, had not expected a major civil war to develop in Cambodia when it ordered the thrust into enemy sanctuaries in Cambodia—is now known to be preparing to deal with protracted warfare in the kingdom."

It seems more likely that Nixon realized the extent of Cambodian civil war *before* he ordered the massive U. S. invasion April 30 and that is why he ordered the invasion.

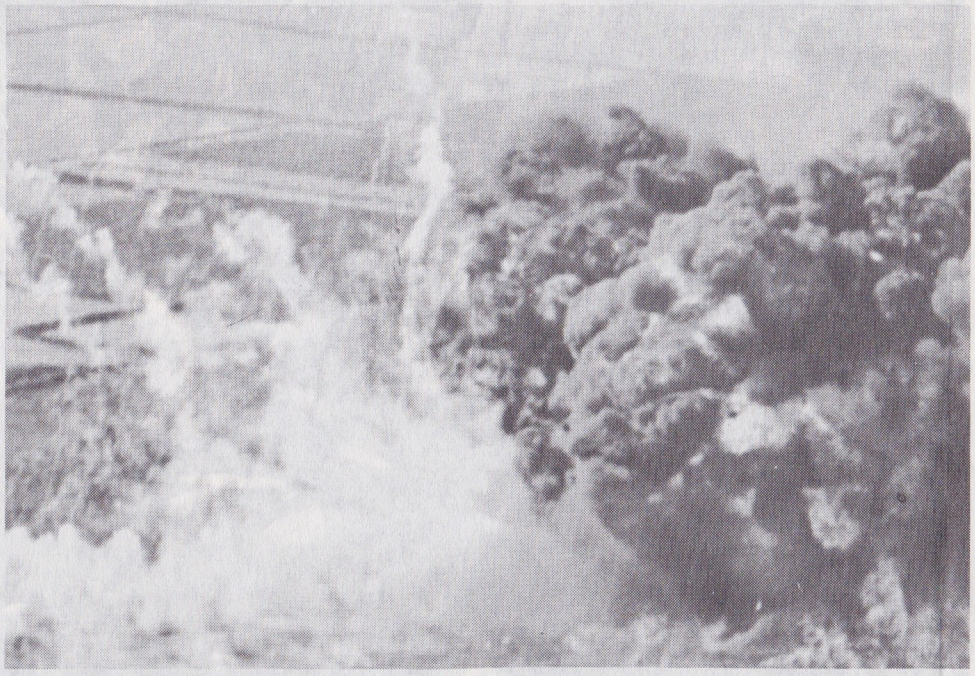
In any event the scope of the civil war can be gauged by the assertion of a Reuters dispatch from Phompenh, June 6, that: "Communist troops now appears to have control of hearly half of Cambodia, with major strongholds in the northern regions where American and South Vietnamese troops are not operating." This Reuters dispatch was carried on the front page of the *New York Times,* June 7.

Noam Chomsky, the MIT professor who has been an outspoken critic of U. S. war policies, collected information revealing the character of the Cambodian civil war in an article for *The New York Review of Books,* June 4.

Chomsky's information indicates a large growth of the previously small *Khmer Rouge* following the March 18 coup. (*Khmer Rouge*—or Red Khmers—because the large majority of Cambodians are the Khmer nationality.)

The upsurge of Khmer Rouge support seems to have been aided by the fact that Sihanouk joined forces with it.

"The leadership of the 'Red Khmers' approached Sihanouk and offered to



IN THE BEGINNING. 1965 scene as U. S. planes drop napalm on "suspected Communist target" in South Vietnam. Rising Cambodian revolution now faces same kind of attack.

"Repression of pro-Sihanouk demonstrations among the peasants toward the end of March in the wake of the coup could only have served to swell the small bands of insurgents. . . .

"Many peasants, fearful of arrest after the demonstrations, took to the jungle rather than return to their homes. And today the Red Khmers are in a position to exploit the discontent in the country areas where the army opened fire on the peasants. The conditions for an active rebellion have

aristocracy, the intellectuals and government functionaries.

"Ranged against the new government are some 40,000 Vietnamese troops [i.e., NLF and North Vietnamese]—who so far have taken only a small role in the antigovernment movement—the tiny Khmer Rouge guerrilla movement, and most importantly, a sizable but unknown proportion of Cambodia's six million peasants who still see Sihanouk as a god-king and the nation's only leader."

States pressure Washington to withdraw completely all U. S. troops from Southeast Asia.

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Lon Nol

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The upsurge of Khmer Rouge support seems to have been aided by the fact that Sihanouk joined forces with it.

"The leadership of the 'Red Khmers' approached Sihanouk and offered to join him in opposition to American imperialism," Chomsky writes. This information is based on an article by the outstanding French Southeast-Asian expert Jean Lacoutre in *Le Nouvel Observateur,* April 20.

"Immediately after the coup," Chomsky continues, "pro-Sihanouk demonstrations broke out in many places. About 80 to 100 Cambodians, all unarmed, were killed in the repression of these demonstrations."

Jean-Claude Pomonti reported in the *Le Monde Weekly Selection,* April 22:

IN THE BEGINNING. 1965 scene as U. S. planes drop napalm on "suspected Communist target" in South Vietnam. Rising Cambodian revolution now faces same kind of attack.

"Repression of pro-Sihanouk demonstrations among the peasants toward the end of March in the wake of the coup could only have served to swell the small bands of insurgents. . . .

"Many peasants, fearful of arrest after the demonstrations, took to the jungle rather than return to their homes. And today the Red Khmers are in a position to exploit the discontent in the country areas where the army opened fire on the peasants. The conditions for an active rebellion have been fulfilled one by one.

"Information coming in from the provinces early last week seems to confirm that Khmer peasants in Viet Cong areas are now armed and trained. The nucleus of a 'liberation army' is very probably being constituted."

The narrow base of the Pnompenh regime was described by T. D. Allman in the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* April 9:

"On the government side are the army, most of the business class, the aristocracy, the intellectuals and government functionaries.

"Ranged against the new government are some 40,000 Vietnamese troops [i.e., NLF and North Vietnamese]—who so far have taken only a small role in the antigovernment movement—the tiny Khmer Rouge guerrilla movement, and most importantly, a sizable but unknown proportion of Cambodia's six million peasants who still see Sihanouk as a god-king and the nation's only leader."

Revolutionary forces have been arming the peasants. Allman described an incident in the *Washington Post,* April 22. Following the capture of the village of Saang, revolutionaries "distributed arms and ammunition to the villagers in the name of the 'Sihanouk' army."

Three Cambodian spies reported that "the Viet Cong were backed by local Khmer and Cham villagers, who had joined the Communist forces."

These are "classic" conditions of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary warfare.

U. S. intervention in support of the Pnompenh military clique can have only the same results as in Vietnam. Chomsky quotes an article written by T. D. Allman a few months before the Cambodian escalation, for the Feb. 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review:*

". . . I flew over Svay Rien province. From the air the frontier is now clearly defined: beyond the parrot's beak peninsula of neat Cambodian rice fields and villages the land is pitted by literally hundreds of thousands of bomb and shell craters.

Cleveland group breaks from antiwar coalition

CLEVELAND—Dr. Sidney Peck, a national coordinator of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, has recently led a breakaway from the Cleveland Area Peace

spective of involving antiwar activists in the campaigns of capitalist "peace" candidates. Youth Against War and Fascism and SDS were opponents of the antiwar coalition from the outset.

Lon Nol

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How Can the Jews Survive?		.25

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the outstanding French Southeast-Asian expert Jean Lacoutre in *Le Nouvel Observateur,* April 20.

"Immediately after the coup," Chomsky continues, "pro-Sihanouk demonstrations broke out in many places. About 80 to 100 Cambodians, all unarmed, were killed in the repression of these demonstrations."

Jean-Claude Pomonti reported in the *Le Monde Weekly Selection,* April 22:

confirm that Khmer peasants in Viet Cong areas are now armed and trained. The nucleus of a 'liberation army' is very probably being constituted."

The narrow base of the Pnompenh regime was described by T. D. Allman in the *Far Eastern Economic Review,* April 9:

"On the government side are the army, most of the business class, the

22. Following the capture of the village of Saang, revolutionaries "distributed arms and ammunition to the villagers in the name of the 'Sihanouk' army."

Three Cambodian spies reported that "the Viet Cong were backed by local Khmer and Cham villagers, who had joined the Communist forces."

These are "classic" conditions of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary warfare.

U. S. intervention in support of the Pnompenh military clique can have only the same results as in Vietnam. Chomsky quotes an article written by T. D. Allman a few months before the Cambodian escalation, for the Feb. 26 *Far Eastern Economic Review:*

". . . I flew over Svay Rien province. From the air the frontier is now clearly defined: beyond the parrot's beak peninsula of neat Cambodian rice fields and villages the land is pitted by literally hundreds of thousands of bomb and shell craters.

"In some cases the years of day-and-night bombing have changed the contours of the land and little streams form into lakes as they fill up mile after square mile of craters.

"Above this desolation and along and just across the Cambodian frontier, the American helicopters and planes whirr continually, firing their guns and cannon, dropping their bombs."

That border, after the invasion of Cambodia by U. S. and South Vietnamese forces, is no longer "clearly defined."

The responsibility of the antiwar movement and the duty of revolutionaries cannot be clearer: It is to continue and if possible to increase its commitment to supporting the self-determination of Southeast Asian peoples and ending the genocidal mission of U. S. military forces.

This means mounting massive demonstrations for the immediate and total withdrawal of all U. S. forces from Southeast Asia. There is no other way to do it.

Cleveland group breaks from antiwar coalition

CLEVELAND—Dr. Sidney Peck, a national coordinator of the New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, has recently led a breakaway from the Cleveland Area Peace Action Council, this city's antiwar coalition.

The bolt from CAPAC came after a fierce but unsuccessful effort to reverse the coalition's decision to host the Emergency Conference Against the Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam War. Along with Dave Dellinger, Arthur Waskow, and others of the New Mobe, Peck now asserts that the antiwar movement must be converted into a "multi-issue, multi-tactic" movement.

On Sunday, June 7, the breakaway group held an organizing meeting attended by about 60 people. There were individuals there from Women's Speakout (Cleveland's equivalent of Women Strike for Peace), Clergy and Laymen Concerned, and several local antiwar community groups. But most of those present were individual members of such groupings as the Communist Party, Youth Against War and Fascism, and former SDS Weathermen.

The Communist Party has long been concerned that the independent, single-issue approach of the antiwar coalition tended to interfere with its perspective of involving antiwar activists in the campaigns of capitalist "peace" candidates. Youth Against War and Fascism and SDS were opponents of the antiwar coalition from the outset.

Peck opened the meeting with remarks in which he asserted that the critical military situation in Indochina and the escalating repression at home demanded that mass demonstrations be replaced by tactics capable of "forcing" an end to the war. He identified these as the civil disobedience tactics developed by the civil rights movement in the early 60s. He made no mention of the potential power of labor even though the prospects for labor involvement in the antiwar movement are greater than ever.

An interesting aspect of the proceedings was the discussion of tactics for the projected multi-issue formation. All agreed there must be "a coalition of tactics." When Dan Elliot of the Vietnam Moratorium Committee described these as including everything from civil disobedience to "peace" politics there was no disagreement.

When he pointed to the campaign of a local Democratic "peace" candidate as the type of thing that should be supported there was, again, no objection.

Women's liberation notes

A campaign to raise $100,000 bail needed for the release of Black Panther Party member Joan Bird has been initiated in New York by the Women's Committee to Free Joan Bird. Jailed already for one and a half years, Joan Bird is one of the Panther 21 now on trial in New York on conspiracy charges.

For information, contact the Women's Committee to Free Joan Bird at the Women's Center, 36 W. 22 St., New York.

* * *

Worthwhile articles on women's liberation appear in the May *Leviathan* (see especially the article by Peggy Morton), the May issue of *Monthly Review* (a debate on the question of the nuclear family), and the June issue of *International Socialist Review* (an interview with a Chinese revolutionary on women and the Chinese Revolution). . . . The fourth and most recent issue of *A Journal of Female Liberation* is also now off the press. For a copy, send $1.00 to *A Journal of Female Liberation,* 371 Somerville Ave., Somerville, Mass., 02143.

* * *

Institutions and organizations in all areas of society are beginning to feel the repercussions of women's liberation. For example: At its national conference in early June, the American Civil Liberties Union held a workshop on "Legal Rights for Women" where it was agreed that the ACLU should help seek new legal channels for fighting discrimination against women.

The June issue of the American Historical Association's *Newsletter* carries a series of proposed resolutions in many Protestant church denominations. Last month, the Episcopal Diocese of New York endorsed a resolution to be presented at the upcoming national convention calling for the ordination of women as ministers. A caucus at the November convention of the National Council of Churches presented a statement condemning the church's "anachronistic" attitudes toward women."

At the annual meeting of the American Baptist Convention, women delegates issued a pamphlet pointing out that 53 men and only four women have served as president of the organization and that statistics show that women do not have equal opportunity with men to serve on the church's major boards and committees.

In the Catholic Church, one of the more militant organizations is the National Coalition of American Nuns, representing 1,400 sisters. They recently issued a statement on the question of self-determination for religious communities which protested "any domination of our institution by priests, no matter what their hierarchical status."

* * *

The Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, Jesuit theologian at Harvard Divinity School, recently commented in *Commonweal* magazine, "We shall witness the complete removal of discrimination in the Catholic church on the day when there is a pregnant Pope who is either African or Asiatic."

* * *

A women's liberation group taking the name of "Redstockings" has sprung up in Denmark, according to an article in the May 21 *San Francisco Chronicle.*

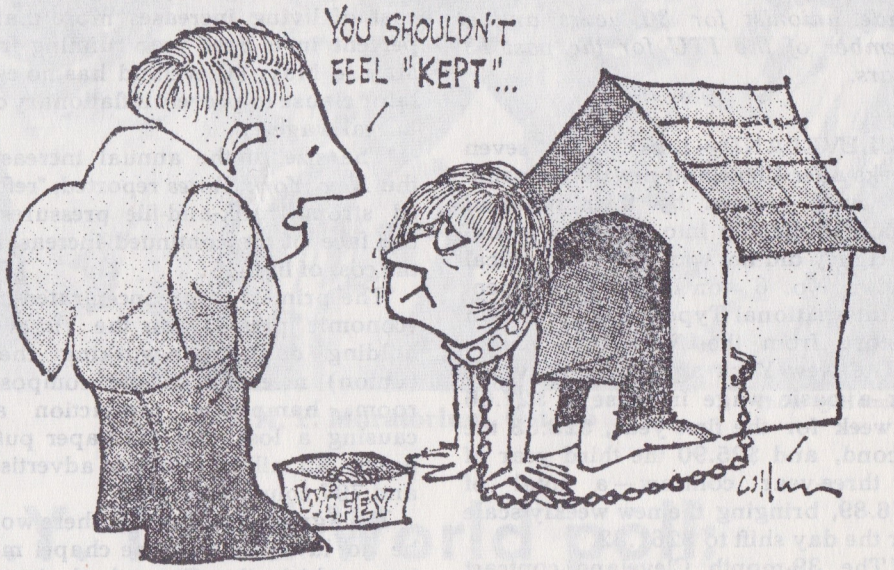
Actions carried out by Redstocking women have included a march to the city hall in Copenhagen and participation in a Labor Day parade with banners accusing the unions of ignoring female workers.

At the end of the city hall demonstration, the Redstockings crowded onto a streetcar and refused to pay more than 70 percent of the fare, on the grounds that women earn 30 percent less than men. The *Chronicle* reported, "Even the male passengers were cheering them on until the police cars arrived."

* * *

Chauvinist quote of the week—"In the case of female education, the main stress should be laid on bodily training, and after that on development of character; and last of all on intellect. But the one absolute aim of female education must be with a view to the future mother."—Adolph Hitler, *Mein Kampf.*

—ELIZABETH BARNES



Seattle Post-Intelligencer

Terrorism, Stalinism, Black capitalism, more

Varied contents offered in new ISR

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The June issue of the American Historical Association's *Newsletter* carries a series of proposed resolutions on women's liberation under consideration by the organization. These include a call for recruitment of more women into the historical profession, the development of university child-care centers, and increased efforts to establish women's history as a "recognized" field of history.

The National Conference of Christians and Jews, along with the Women's Unit of Governor Rockefeller's office, cosponsored a women's liberaconference in New York May 28. The open-minded attitude of the some 250 women attending was reflected in the interest shown in the Socialist Workers Party women's liberation and election campaign table.

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By MICHAEL BAUMANN

The June 1970 issue of the new and expanded *International Socialist Review* is already on the shelves of newsstands and bookstores throughout the country. Reports show that the previous issue, sold primarily on the campuses and on the streets, gained several thousand new readers. The number of subscriptions that continue to arrive daily indicates that these new readers were impressed.

The June issue of the *ISR* should receive the same enthusiastic reception. The lead article, "Marxism versus Neo-Anarchist Terrorism," by George Novack, analyzes the question of individual terror and its relation to revolutionary struggle. Novack explains why Marxism has a consistent tradition of opposition to the tactic of individual terror and outlines the reasons that have impelled certain ultraleftists to adopt this method of attacking the status quo.

Instead of studying the use of dynamite, Novack contends, the task of the genuine revolutionary today is "to steam from the assertion that to trade with Cooper meant "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." It was quickly defeated, however, when supporters of Cooper in Chaska organized to defend him.

Women's liberation activists and their supporters will be interested in Caroline Lund's interview with Chen Pi-Lan, a leader of the Chinese women's movement, a leader of the Chinese Communist Party during the 1920s and a founder of the Chinese Trotskyist movement. In "Women and the Chinese Revolution," Chen Pi-Lan relates the process by which the Chinese women's liberation movement, arising first as a struggle against feudal traditions, became a leading part of the national revolution. Many women, she points out, became revolutionary leaders as a result of their experiences in the women's movement.

An extensive article by Dick Roberts, "The Myth of Black Economic Progress," analyzes the extremely modest gains made by Black workers even during the best of times: American

the government's own statistics, he shows the meager advances in Black income, noting at the same time that even these "are in danger of being wiped out as soon as the downturn gets underway."

The Second Annual Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, held in Denver March 26-29, represents the effort of one Third World group to free itself from the economic straightjacket Dick Roberts has portrayed. Two of the most important documents presented to the conference, *1970, The Year of the Chicano Party* and *Suggested Additions to the Plan of Aztlan,* are printed in the *ISR* to present the viewpoint of revolutionary socialism on the Chicano struggle. The authors of the documents, Antonio Camejo and Froben Lozada, are both well-known activists in the Chicano movement.

Another aspect of the Third World struggle is taken up by Tony Thomas, who has just returned from Trinidad. In his column, "Perspectives on World Revolution," he relates the full background of the recent Black Power up-

War protestors are rounded up in Knoxville

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Women's caucuses have been formed

War protestors are rounded up in Knoxville

By RICHARD SALES

KNOXVILLE, Tenn. — When President Nixon announced that he would speak at Billy Graham's East Tennessee Crusade for Christ May 28 at the U of Tennessee, the Crusade billed his appearance as nonpolitical. Antiwar activists realized that his appearance would be far from nonpolitical.

Over a thousand antiwar protestors gathered in the stadium to protest Nixon's war policies. The protests became very vocal during Billy Graham's introduction to Nixon and during Nixon's speech.

Due to this protest, nine people were arrested that night. By identifying people from photographs and newsreels, the police department has issued warrants for the arrest of 57 others. Up to this time 16 people have been arrested, four of them professors from the U of Tennessee. A defense committee is being formed and rallies are being planned.

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Instead of studying the use of dynamite, Novack contends, the task of the genuine revolutionary today is "to learn how to release the creative energy and revolutionary potential of the masses in order to make possible the successful overthrow of capitalist society."

In "Right-Wing Defeat in Rural Minnesota," Lee Smith dispels the notion that fascism is around the corner. Reactionary elements in Chaska, Minnesota (pop. 3,300), Smith reports, attempted to organize a boycott against local grocer Jake Cooper soon after he appeared as an honored guest at the 1969 Young Socialist Alliance convention. Cooper, one of the leaders of the 1934 Minneapolis general truck drivers' strike and later one of the first victims of the repressive Smith Act, now owns a supermarket in Chaska.

His business was seriously threatened by a boycott campaign mounted by two area newspapers, the local VFW chapter and the American Legion. The campaign got its initial steam from the assertion that to trade with Cooper meant "giving aid and comfort to the enemy." It was quickly defeated, however, when supporters of Cooper in Chaska organized to defend him.

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An extensive article by Dick Roberts, "The Myth of Black Economic Progress," analyzes the extremely modest gains made by Black workers even during the best of times: American capitalism's "boom of the '60s." Using the government's own statistics, he shows the meager advances in Black income, noting at the same time that even these "are in danger of being wiped out as soon as the downturn gets underway."

Chiu Jaen, pioneer Chinese women's liberationist

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In "World Revolution Today: Trotskyism or Stalinism?," Ernest Mandel explains the real differences between Trotskyism and Stalinism by outlining what he calls "the four pillars of Trotskyism." The "pillars" he refers to are actually four basic reasons why the Trotskyist movement is today undergoing spectacular growth throughout the world. His observations were made during a debate in London last year with Monty Johnstone, a leader of the British Communist Party.

The June 1970 issue of the *ISR* offers today's newly radicalized activists a valuable example of Marxist analysis of several very relevant topics. For a single copy of this issue, send 50 cents to the *International Socialist Review,* 873 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10003. For a special introductory subscription (3 issues) send $1.

In Defense of Printers (IV)

N.Y. printers inspire Cleveland union ranks

By JEAN TUSSEY

This is the fourth and concluding article in a series on the Cleveland International Typographical Union Local 53. Earlier installments appeared in the May 1, May 8, and May 15 issues of The Militant. The author has been an active socialist and trade unionist for 30 years and a member of the ITU for the past 13 years.

* * *

CLEVELAND—Less than seven weeks after Cleveland newspaper printers were coerced by their national union leadership into accepting a contract they did not want, Typographical Union No. 53 won the best settlement in International Typographical Union history from the *New York Times*.

The New York agreement provided for a basic wage increase of $27.66 a week for the first year, $23.33 the second, and $25.90 the third year of a three-year contract—a total of $76.89, bringing the new weekly scale for the day shift to $261.32.

(The 39-month Cleveland contract provided for $16.00, $19.00 and $16.30—a total of $51.30, making the weekly day shift rate $220.00 on June 1, 1971.)

New York won a reduction in the workweek on the day shift from 35 to 34-1/2 hours. (Cleveland printers had to settle for a continuation of the 37-1/2-hour week.)

The New York agreement also provides for a wage adjustment when the cost of living increases more than 6 percent in a base year running from May to May. (Cleveland has no escalator clause to prevent inflationary cuts in real wages.)

"The size of the annual increases," the *New York Times* reported, "reflected strong rank-and-file pressures in the face of the continued increases in the cost of living. . . ."

"The printers had concentrated their economic pressure on the *Times* by holding daily, non-working chapel (union) meetings in the composing room, hampering production and causing a loss that the paper put at nearly $5 million worth of advertising and 797 columns of news."

The agreement provided there would be no lawsuits over the chapel meetings, which the *Times* had charged were illegal.

Cleveland Typographical Union No. 53 still has a *Plain Dealer* lawsuit hanging over it from a July 1967 24-hour chapel meeting held to compel reinstatement of a chapel chairman fired for attempting to protect the membership from a unilateral change in working conditions by the company.

Bertram Powers, president of N. Y. ITU, addresses press conference.

Olin 'complies' on fighting

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Olin 'complies' on fighting DDT pollution

By ROBERT LANGSTON

As the frequent pronouncements of politicians and company presidents in recent months have made amply clear, the federal government and big business are deeply concerned about the ecological crisis. The way the Olin Chemical Company and the Department of the Army recently cooperated to eliminate water pollution is exemplary.

Olin produces DDT in a plant at the Army's Redstone Arsenal in Huntsville, Ala. DDT-rich waste from the Olin plant is dumped into an open ditch that carries it through the Wheeler National Wildlife Refuge. Not only do the ducks and geese that winter in the refuge receive the full benefits of Olin's refuse, but so do the people of the city of Decatur, Ala., whose water reservoir is located in the Wheeler Refuge.

Last October, the Federal Water Quality Administration recommended a standard that would allow no more than 20 parts DDT per trillion parts of water for the waste from the Olin plant. (The existing standard allows 10 parts per billion.)

Olin objected. Its bosses do not, of

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In every other respect—pensions, sick leave, protection from adverse effects of automation and potential government wage and price controls, etc.—the New York contract also far surpasses Cleveland's.

"What's wrong with us?" the Cleveland printers asked when they saw the New York settlement.

"How come we were told by the ITU representative that there was 'no more money to be had'? That we would get no ITU support if we struck? How come President Pilch himself went to New York to help in their negotiations, but didn't even send a letter in answer to our communications?"

Rank-and-file reactions varied. "I guess they're only interested in how many dues-paying members are involved," one oldtimer said with a touch of bitterness.

"It's all politics," said another, expressing the widespread feeling at the *Plain Dealer* that the foreman and his assistants and the production manager, all members of the ITU and of the Progressive Party (the administration caucus known as the "Progs"), have a more direct line to President Pilch than the militant young president of Local 53.

"Let's face it," said a third, "Powers

Bertram Powers, president of N. Y. ITU, addresses press conference.

(president of New York Local 6) has power because New York is the biggest local in the international. They've got enough money so they can tell the international to go to hell. They can go on strike on their own if they want to—and the *Times* knows it, and the international knows it. That's why New York can get a decent contract and we can't."

Not all of the Cleveland printers are willing to accept the situation so fatalistically. Many, like ITU members in Minneapolis, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago, Detroit, Boston, St. Louis and elsewhere around the country are looking for new ways to solve their problems.

They are looking for new leadership with a new program of action. When they hear the old "record of 'Prog' achievements" repeated every time union elections roll around, they are beginning to ask, like the rank and file in many unions today, "But what have you done for me lately?"

What the ranks want now is not the routinism of the old union bureaucracies—national or local—but a copy of the New York contract to study. They want leadership with a program of struggle relevant to their needs today.

For this, the finest traditions of the old ITU are still valid: ideals of democratic rank-and-file control; independence from dictation or decision making by government, employers or union officers.

As the ranks begin to move, real leaders who get the message, as John L. Lewis did when he led the organization of the CIO, will have a role to play. Those who don't will be discarded like the rest of the obsolete machinery in the trade.

Young workers don't buy traditional union norms

A report on young workers' attitudes in the auto and steel industries appeared in the June 1 *New York Times*. Written by Agis Salpukas, the article pointed out that "The younger generation, which has shaken the campuses, is showing signs of restlessness in the plants of industrial America. . . .

bypass their own union leaders and start wildcat strikes.

"And at the heart of the new mood, the union men said, there is a challenge to management's authority to run its plants, an issue that has resulted in some of the hardest-fought battles between industry and labor in

TELL IT LIKE IT IS **By Dunagin**

DDT pollution

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Last October, the Federal Water Quality Administration recommended a standard that would allow no more than 20 parts DDT per trillion parts of water for the waste from the Olin plant. (The existing standard allows 10 parts per billion.)

Olin objected. Its bosses do not, of course, oppose pollution control. On the contrary, officials at the Redstone plant say they positively favor "strong but reasonable" controls. It is just that the recommended standard would be "impossible" to meet in commercial production.

The Army Corps of Engineers—certainly famous among conservationists for its interest in preserving wildlife—came to mediate the dispute. It overruled the Water Quality Administration recommendation, while—of course—sternly warning Olin to constantly improve its pollution controls.

So the ducks, the geese and the people of Decatur will enjoy the tonic effects of toxic doses of DDT for the forseeable future.

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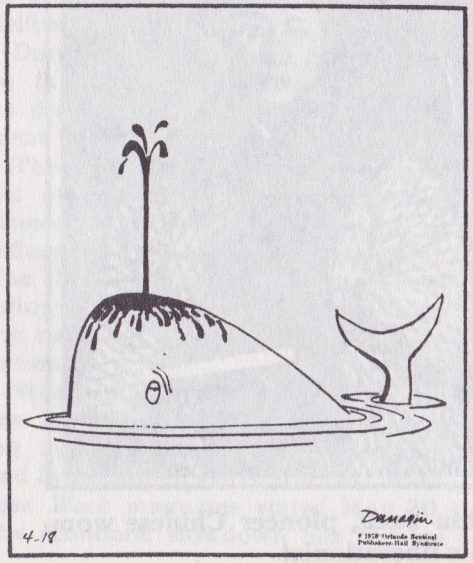

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"Not only are they talking back to their foremen, but they also are raising their voices in the union halls complaining that their union leaders are not moving fast enough."

The new, younger workers, the report adds:

"● Are better educated and want treatment as equals from the bosses on a plant floor. They are not as afraid of losing their job as the older men and often challenge the foreman's orders.

"● Do not want work they think hurts their health or safety, even though oldtimers have done the same work for years.

"● Want fast changes and sometimes bypass their own union leaders and start wildcat strikes.

"And at the heart of the new mood, the union men said, there is a challenge to management's authority to run its plants, an issue that has resulted in some of the hardest-fought battles between industry and labor in the past.

"The worker wants the same rights he has on the street after he walks in the plant door, said Jim Babbs, a 24-year-old worker who is a UAW officer at Wixom [Mich.]"

The reaction of the union bureaucrats was stated by I. W. Abel, president of the steel workers union.

"'They didn't go through the rough times,' he said.

"The young men, he added, do not read the contract or attend the union meetings but come into the plants and start calling for the elimination of the 'no strike' clause, which outlaws strikes in between contracts. 'We've got a big job of education ahead,' he said."

'Inquest' dramatizes Rosenberg frame-up

(We regret that due to space limitations during the recent student upsurge we were unable to publish the following review sooner. Although the play has since closed, we believe that its political significance and artistic merit warrant reviewing anyway. It is to be hoped that, having left Broadway, the play will be revived elsewhere.)

INQUEST, a play be Donald Freed, based on the book Invitation to an Inquest *by Walter and Miriam Schneir. Directed by Alan Schneider. Anne Jackson as Ethel Rosenberg; George Grizzard as Julius Rosenberg; James Whitmore as Emanuel Bloch, their attorney. At The Music Box Theatre, New York.*

Before *Inquest* begins, the following words jump out from a backdrop of 18 panels onto which they are being projected: "Every Word You Will See or Hear On This Stage is a Documented Quotation or Reconstruction From Events." Freed's purpose is to shatter any complacency theater-goers may still have toward the celebrated witch-burning of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg in 1953. In this he succeeds admirably.

Inquest is neither long-winded nor hysterical. It is brilliantly stark. And though it is courtroom drama, it never drags.

The play opens by suggesting the historical setting through a skillful projection of the figures, newspaper headlines and events of the late 1940s and early 1950s. There is Einstein saying that the Rosenberg case must not rest. There are scenes of Hiroshima con-

bergs was not their alleged relationship to the government's ludicrous display of "evidence" (which included a worthless drawing of the atom bomb by a scientific ignoramus; replicas of a jello box supposedly used as a pass; the testimony of a pathological storyteller; a collection can for the "Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee"). The real evidence was their sympathy with the left.

Theirs was in fact a political trial. Their attorney, Emanuel Bloch, is shown at one point wanting to defend them on that basis. But they refuse. When Saypol asks Julius if he ever preferred communism to capitalism, one wishes he would say "Yes" and then explain why. Instead he replies simply, "No, I never said that."

There is pathos in these words for if the approach to the trial had been a political one, it is quite possible that although they still might have been doomed, at least a more effective defense campaign might have been mounted and the motives of the government exposed.

The cast is superb, and especially good at detail and nuance (even during the testimony of picturesque witnesses for the prosecution, for example, Anne Jackson and George Grizzard's noble restraint in portraying the Rosenbergs still manages somehow to make them the central characters).

Just prior to their execution, appeals for clemency are heard from the sister of Vanzetti, the family of Dreyfus, Jean-Paul Sartre, scientists and the Pope (who expresses more concern for his

Photo by Barry Kramer

INQUEST. George Grizzard and Anne Jackson (bottom) played Julius and Ethel Rosenberg; James Whitmore (top) portrayed their defense attorney, E. H. Bloch, in the Donald Freed drama recently on Broadway.

reputation than for preserving their lives).

And then there is President Eisenhower denying clemency on the ground that were he to spare even the woman (as some had requested) the communists would then start getting women to do all their spying for them!

The overriding impression one gets from *Inquest* is what unmitigated mediocrities those people were who had their heyday in the fifties and who were responsible for the murder of this obscure couple. One of them would not be president today if it were not for his energetic role in the witch-hunt.

Yet theirs was a mediocrity in the service of the cynical democracy of a decaying system.

Sooner or later its time, too, will be up.

—DAVID THORSTAD

Inquest *by Walter and Miriam Schneir. Directed by Alan Schneider. Anne Jackson as Ethel Rosenberg; George Grizzard as Julius Rosenberg; James Whitmore as Emanuel Bloch, their attorney. At The Music Box Theatre, New York.*

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Throughout the courtroom scenes the reminder is constantly projected that this is taken from the "Actual Record." Sources are also projected for the reconstructed flashbacks that frequently interrupt the court testimony and thus help keep the play moving.

These are necessary reminders. Without them Freed would undoubtedly be accused of exaggerating for political effect, for some of the behavior of the judge and the prosecution is indeed startling.

Inquest works as courtroom drama for several reasons. The central one is that the audience is also the jury — with this twist: The inexorable injustice of the execution is poignantly driven home through the blinding lights that "electrocute" it along with the Rosenbergs.

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National picket line

District 50 elects Moffett

After a bitterly contested union election, Elwood Moffett, incumbent president of District 50, Allied and Technical Workers Union of America, won reelection June 2.

District 50 used to be a part of the United Mine Workers Union, organized as a catchall district in 1936 by John L. Lewis. It was a unit designed to organize workers in all fields except coal mining.

About 3 years ago, District 50 got out of line with the W. A. Boyle bureaucracy within the UMW. It organized the atomic energy workers even though atomic energy as an industrial fuel is considered a deadly rival of coal. So Boyle ousted the whole section.

Boyle expected the District 50 leaders the Labor Department reports, strikes totaled nearly 12 million man-days. During this period, there were 1,700 strikes involving 952,000 workers.

Who says the working class has gone to sleep, complacent and happy with the status quo?

* * *

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) has struck 13 plants of the Radio Corporation of America in seven states. The first picket lines formed outside the RCA plants in Camden, N. J., and Lewiston, Me., shortly after negotiations between the company, union and federal mediators broke down.

The strike will affect four plants in New Jersey, two in Pennsylvania, and file think about it?) gives the multi-millionaire Rockefeller, his second big bloc of support from the union bureaucracy. He had already won endorsement from the Greater New York Building and Construction Trades Council as well as the State Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; the State Council of the Int'l Brotherhood of Operating Engineers, and the New York City Musicians Local 802.

The governor gave a reception June 1 for the labor "leaders" at the Americana Hotel. He honored the reception with his own presence, and while an orchestra played softly in the background, the "beaming representatives" of blue-collar and white-collar work-

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Moreover, there is an undeniable drama in the savage fatalism of the witch-hunt whereby the question of innocence or guilt was an irrelevant factor in the determination of the ruling class to find the victims it needed to stimulate public support for its cold war.

The extent of the hysteria in the McCarthy era is reflected in the fact that the entire secret police apparatus — which, thanks to the single-minded dedication of J. Edgar Hoover over the years, was not insignificant — could only concoct such a flimsy case — and still the Rosenbergs were executed. A genuine contempt for the FBI broke out (the only moment of relief in the play) when prosecutor Irving Saypol asserted, "The FBI is never duped." This was greeted with guffaws.

The real evidence against the Rosen-

Life in an Auto Plant

By Tom Cagle 25c

Pathfinder Press, Inc.
873 Broadway, NYC 10003

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Boyle expected the District 50 leadership to come, hat in hand, pleading for forgiveness. Instead, District 50 became an independent union.

But the story of this election in the ATU indicates that its "independence" from the UMW is more imaginary than real. The officialdom of each of these unions tries to influence the internal affairs of the other.

During the recent UMW elections, a majority of the ATU District 50 leadership supported the candidacy of the late Joseph Yablonski. An executive committee minority grouping supported Boyle.

In the ATU elections, the incumbent leadership, which had supported Yablonski, won against the Boyle-supported former vice-president, Angelo J. Cefalo.

Cefalo claims "the election was stolen from me" and threatens to ask the Labor Department to invalidate the election and call a new one under the Landrum-Griffin Act. Meanwhile, his mentor Boyle is busily protesting federal scrutiny of his election.

* * *

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The strike will affect four plants in New Jersey, two in Pennsylvania, and others in Michigan, Maine, Tennessee, Ohio and California. Wages are apparently the main issue.

* * *

Five thousand employees of four breweries have voted to strike if negotiations for a new contract, now in progress, break down.

The unions involved are Locals 3 and 46, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the companies Rheingold, Shaefer and Schlitz.

* * *

The scale committee of International Typographical Union Local 6 and the *New York Post* has arrived at a tentative agreement for the printers, basically the same as the contracts covering workers at the *New York Times* and *Daily News* (previously reported in this column). Negotiations with the fourth newspaper, the *Long Island Press*, are also in progress.

* * *

The New York Teamsters Joint Council 16 has endorsed the candidacy of Nelson Rockefeller for his fourth term as governor. This endorsement (one wonders what the rank and file think about it?) gives the multimillionaire Rockefeller, his second big bloc of support from the union bureaucracy. He had already won endorsement from the Greater New York Building and Construction Trades Council as well as the State Council of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners; the State Council of the Int'l Brotherhood of Operating Engineers, and the New York City Musicians Local 802.

The governor gave a reception June 1 for the labor "leaders" at the Americana Hotel. He honored the reception with his own presence, and while an orchestra played softly in the background, the "beaming representatives" of blue-collar and white-collar workers drank quantities of rye and scotch. While they went at a table loaded with "mounds of canapes, rolls, bagels, meats, fish, dumplings, fruit and French pastry," the governor stood by beaming.

"'I'm not used to this,' commented one union chief as he filled his plate with a third helping," reported the *New York Times*.

No, he probably isn't. He got his potbelly some other way. Maybe it really is all just gas — at least in the waist line. Most likely all the fat settles between their ears.

— MARVEL SCHOLL

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In Brief

By RANDY FURST

NEWTON'S BAIL DENIED: The California Court of Appeals refused to grant Huey Newton bail June 4. An appeal is expected. The Black Panther minister of defense had his manslaughter conviction thrown out by the court last month. . . . **JACKSON STATE MEMORIAL:** The James Green — Phillip Gibbs Memorial Scholarship Fund has been set up by Blacks at Jackson State College in memory of the two students murdered by police outside Alexander Hall May 14. The scholarships will go to needy Black high school students going on to college. Contributions may be sent to the Fund, c/o 833 Brookside, Jackson, Miss.

GRIM TALE: President Nixon sent out eight young White House aides to interview students on the nation's campuses last month. They reported back that the campuses were very much inflamed and anti-Nixon. "They felt they had just

Twenty-year-old Kathy Shultz is a student at the University of Denver and reports, "I'm in favor of withdrawing from Vietnam. I think going into Cambodia was wrong." Thomas Blount, 24, an architecture student at North Carolina State University School of Design also favors withdrawal. "They ought to pull out entirely right now," Blount says. While such views are hardly startling for the current college and university population, the fact that both are children of cabinet members suggests the degree to which Vietnam has radicalized the American people. **Newsweek** runs down some of the radical currents within the families closest to President Nixon in the June 1 issue.

AGNEW, NIXON WIN POLL: Vice-President Agnew best exemplifies the principle that "in a hierarchy every employee tends to rise to his own level of incompetence," according to a poll conducted at 22 university bookstores across the country. The poll was originated by the Harvard Co-op Bookstore. Placing a close second was Richard Nixon. Other ranking losers were Claude Kirk, George Wallace, Lester Maddox, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan, John Lindsay and Julius Hoffman. . . . **TIJERINA SUIT REJECTED:** The Supreme Court turned down a suit May 25 by Reies Tijerina, the Mexican-American militant. Tijerina was appealing a suit that would require the teaching of the Span-

son blown up in the New York townhouse this past winter. The body had been so badly magled that it could not be identified. "Freaks are revolutionaries and revolutionaries are freaks," the document states. "If you want to find us, this is where we are. In every tribe, commune, dormitory, farmhouse, barracks and townhouse where kids are making love, smoking dope and loading guns — fugitives from Amerikan justice are free to go." The statement, dated May 21, 1970, ended with the warning that "within the next fourteen days we will attack a symbol or institution of Amerikan injustic."

HIGH SCHOOL CONFERENCE: A national high school conference is scheduled for Chicago June 22-26 at 5665 S. University. For more information, write National Conference, 2214 Grove St., Berkeley, Calif., or call (415) 843-7500. . . . **BLACK STUDENTS CONFERENCE:** A national conference of the National Association of Black Students (NABS) is scheduled for Wayne State University in Detroit June 26-July 5. The meeting is open to all Blacks. For more information and registration requests, write NABS, 3418 17th St., NW, Washington, D. C., or call (202) 387-1166 . . . . **GETTING AROUND:** YSAers are now located in 168 cities in 38 states. . . . **PROGRAM FOR REVOLT:** A new edition of the **YSA Program for the Student Revolt** is now available from the YSA national office. Copies are 3c each for 200 or less; 2c for more than 200. Order from YSA, P. O. Box 471, Cooper Station, N. Y., N. Y. 10003 . . . . **BEST SELLER: Problems of Women's Liberation: A Marxist Approach**, by Evelyn Reed, now in its third printing, is selling at the rate of 1000 a month. Copies are available from Pathfinder Press at 95c.

RADIO HAVANA SCHEDULE: English language broadcasts from Radio Havana can be heard at the following times and short wave frequencies — 3:50 to 4:50 p.m. (EST), 16 meter band, 17715 kilocycles; 3:50 to 4:50 p.m. (EST), 25 meter band, 11970 kilocycles; 8:00 to 11:50 p.m. (EST), 31 meter band, 9525 kilocycles; 8:00 to 1:00 a.m. (EST), 25 meter band, 11760 kilocycles; and 1:30 to 3:00 a.m. (EST), 31 meter band, 9525 kilocycles.

U.S. court hears

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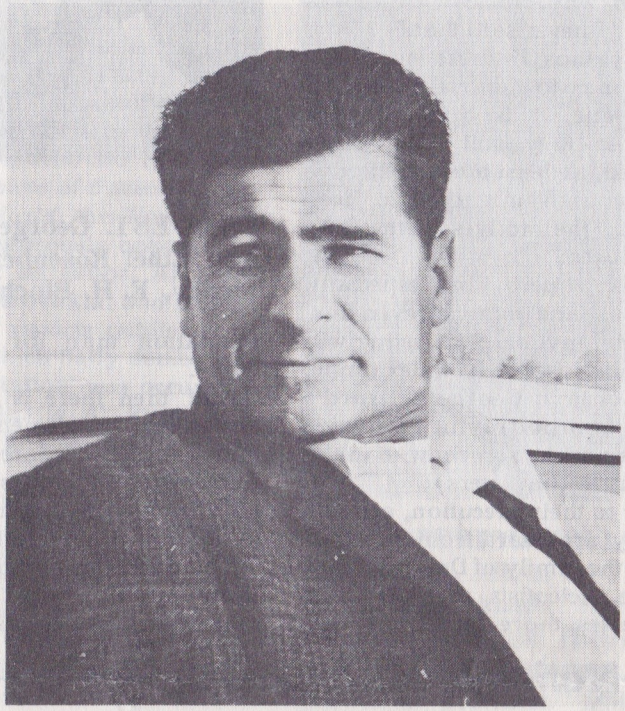
CHANGED HIS MIND: Former President Johnson's chief aide Jack Valenti says he has changed his mind about the war in Indochina. Valenti, head of the Motion Picture Producers Assn., is quoted in the **New York Post** May 22. Says Valenti, "Five years ago I felt we were justified in being in Vietnam. Now I believe we have to get out." Valenti is just back from a tour of 21 campuses where he was conducting film seminars. . . . **OUT OF SIGHT:** President Nixon skipped the commencement exercises for his daughter, Julie. So did his daughter. . . . **THEY KNOW BETTER:** Placing a close second was Richard Nixon. Other ranking losers were Claude Kirk, George Wallace, Lester Maddox, Lyndon Johnson, Ronald Reagan, John Lindsay and Julius Hoffman. . . . **TIJERINA SUIT REJECTED:** The Supreme Court turned down a suit May 25 by Reies Tijerina, the Mexican-American militant. Tijerina was appealing a suit that would require the teaching of the Spanish language, history and culture in all New Mexico schools. . . . **SEALE ON FAST:** Black Panther Chairman Bobby Seale fasted for nine days at the Montville State Correctional Center in Connecticut to protest prison treatment. He has not been allowed to see other Panther Party members during his imprisonment. The fast began May 27. . . . **ON FILM: The Liberation of L. B. Jones** is worth seeing. The film illustrates racism in a southern town. . . . **IN PRINT: Joseph Stalin: For Peaceful Coexistence** from International Publishers in New York. The pamphlet sells for 20c and offers a basic primer on "socialism-in-one-country" as promulgated by one of socialism's major foes. One quote: "The government of the USSR believes that in spite of differences in economic systems and ideologies, the coexistence of these systems and the peaceful settlement of differences between the USSR and the USA are not only possible, but absolutely necessary in the interest of universal peace." — Stalin in 1948.



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U.S. court hears GI rights cases

By RANDY FURST

The struggle for freedom of speech inside the U. S. Army continues unabated.

Attorneys David Rein of Washington, D. C., and Leonard Boudin of New York, argued before the U. S. Court of Appeals in Richmond, Va., June 2 that the Army's refusal to allow fundamental dissent violated their clients' rights of freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition.

The attorneys represented soldiers at Ft. Jackson and Ft. Bragg. Appealing two suits rejected by lower courts, they argued that GIs — perhaps even more than civilians — must not be denied the right to hear, discuss and debate the issues.

Rein hopes to overturn a ruling that prohibits soldiers from holding legal, peaceful meetings on the Ft. Jackson base in Columbia, S. C. The case stems from the nationally publicized 1969 arrests of the Ft. Jackson Eight, who organized antiwar gatherings on post.

At issue in Ft. Bragg is the base underground newspaper, **Bragg Briefs**, which authorities have attempted to keep out of the hands of GIs. Boudin

N.Y. forum hears Etheridge Knight

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N.Y. forum hears Etheridge Knight

NEW YORK — The Militant Labor Forum heard Etheridge Knight, author of **Black Voices From Prison**, in a meeting here on June 5.

Knight began by saying, "I'd like to thank the Militant Labor Forum for inviting me here. It not only gives me a chance to talk, but a chance to talk where Malcolm use to talk." With those introductory remarks, Knight delivered a couple of poems in tribute to Malcolm.

He then read several other poems from his book and from pamphlets of his put out by Broadside Press in Detroit.

Knight described life in prison, the brutality and violence of the penal system, and the salutary effect of the rising tide of Black consciousness. Black prisoners are now forming book clubs, in which books by Frantz Fanon, Malcolm, Eldridge Cleaver, and others, obtained by any means necessary, are read and discussed.

After a few questions, he was asked to read more poetry, which had a gripping effect on the audience.

Knight's book was written from Indiana State Prison in 1968. It contains accounts of a number of inmates. The first English edition is being published by Pathfinder Press, Inc., 873 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003.

Knight, who got out on parole in November, 1968, now is a writer-in-residence in the Black studies program at the University of Pittsburgh.

Reies Tijerina

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COLLINS' APPEAL REJECTED: A three-judge panel of the U. S. Court of Appeals in New Orleans has refused to overturn Walter Collins' sentence for refusing to be drafted. Collins is a Black civil rights worker associated with the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF) who was given five years in prison and fined $10,000. . . . **NEWS:** The **Daily News**, New York's morning tabloid, refused to print an advertisement attacking the war that was signed by more than 100 **News** editorial writers. The ad, which was eventually run in the **New York Times** on May 24, condemned "our government's actions in Indochina as abhorrent, as a source of daily atrocities, and in contradiction to the historical principles of this nation."

PSYCHOANALYSTS JOIN DEMAND: A group of 190 New York City psychoanalysts has called for the "immediate and most complete withdrawal" of the U. S. from Indochina. . . . **MESSAGE FROM THE WEATHERMEN:** "I'm going to read **A Declaration of a State of War**," begins the manifesto, reportedly secreted out of the Weatherman underground and into the overground **New York Times** and Liberation News Service. The Weatherman document alleges that Terry Robbins, an SDS Ohio regional traveler until he joined the Weathermen about a year ago, was the third per-

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At issue in Ft. Bragg is the base underground newspaper, **Bragg Briefs**, which authorities have attempted to keep out of the hands of GIs. Boudin argues that the right to distribute the newspaper is a First Amendment right, while authorities say soldiers have no right to 'interfere' with the morale of men who must be in a state of readiness to be called to war.

The GI Civil Liberties Committee in New York, which is helping publicize the cases, reported that there is no word yet when the judge's decision will be handed down.

Lawyers intend to appeal the case to the Supreme Court should they lose this round, the committee said.

The Army has contended that were First Amendment rights upheld, the military would be unable to fulfill its military mission to defend the United States.

Attorneys for **Bragg Briefs** maintain that antiwar ideas are contained in nearly every magazine sold in the post exchanges or on the shelves of post libraries. They say that denial of distribution rights has nothing to do with the morale, loyalty or good discipline of the soldiers, but comes from the military command's evident opposition to antiwar views and activity.

Other attorneys working on the suits beside Boudin and Rein are David Rosenberg and Dorian Bowman of New York, Laughlin McDonald of Chapel Hill, N. C., Howard Moore of Atlanta, Ga., and Thomas Broadwater of Columbia, S. C., in association with the GICLDC.

The great society

Royal, loyal—as long as you get paid—The Cambodian charge d'affaires in Washington is wondering if the word "royal" should be removed from the building of the Royal Cambodian Embassy. An uncle-in-law of Sihanouk, the envoy declared shortly after the prince's ouster: "I am still loyal to my government. But don't ask me which government."

Including Spiro?—A presidential commission has urged greater concern for the human and civil rights of the retarded.

How paranoid can you get?—In a profile of Lt. Gen. Do Cao Tri, head man for the Saigon forces in Cambodia, the *New York Times* recalls when the late dictator Diem arrested one of Tri's associates and held him in the presidential palace. Diem released the prisoner when Tri advised him he would dispatch his airborne battalion to bomb the palace. The *Times* reports, "President Diem never trusted the young officer after that."

Securing the flag—Five young Philadelphians were charged with desecrating the flag for allegedly using Old Glory as a picnic blanket. An enthusiastic patriotic judge set bail at $25,000 each but reduced it to $1,000 each after consultation with the D. A., who is apparently soft on flagsitters.

In passing

Radicalization of a film magazine

"As regular readers will have noticed over the last few issues, *Cineaste,* a magazine for the film student and the filmmaker, has also progressively become a magazine of cinema engage—a cinema engaged in the movement for change," state the editors in their current issue.

An interesting development—the radcalization of a magazine. The results so far are excellent and all radical movie fans will want to check it out. (They're also looking for writers.)

The current issue (dated Winter 1969-70) includes an interview with Costa-Garras, the director of *Z*; a lengthy analysis of the relationship of cinema to politics by Philippe Esnault; reviews of *Putney Swope* and *The Wild Bunch*; and other articles.

Esnault's article is a survey of filmmaking throughout the world. He has some particularly pertinent remarks to make about Soviet filmmaking:

"The epoch of the Soviet silent film (1919-34) was marked by great enthusiasm, searching and imagination. Everything was possible for these young people since a new life had been created for them. All modes of expression renewed themselves and acted upon one another, without foreign models being forgotten.

"Is it necessary to cite such well-known masterpieces from *Strike* to *Mountains of Gold*? But service to the people became service to Party doctrine. The inauguration of Stalinism, coincident with the coming of sound to film, dammed up the flood of creativity.

"'Formalism' was condemned in favor of Academism; more and more projects were abandoned; filmmakers acted on official orders. From 1934 to 1945 artistic successes, though not as effective, were still numerous (on subjects such as the civil war, Russian history, the conflict against the Germans).

"But official thought took on a religious character: Lenin was never wrong (Mikhail Romm); the Party is infallible, Stalin is enshrined (Mikhail Chiaureli), while a puerile Manicheanism developed (Sergei Gerasimov), hand in hand with historical falsification (*A Great Citizen*—1938).

"After the war came Zhdanovism, otherwise known as sclerosis. Production fell, even in quantity. A slow but steady evolution, in a liberating sense, followed during the years 1953-63.

"Films like *Courage, Seven Days of One Year* and *The Love of Alyosha,* among others, signified a rupture with the past. But any analysis of Stalinism, a reevaluation of the past by the young, any efforts to attack contemporary problems in a more realistic manner, are still to come.

"The brakes were put on, and *Andrei Rublov* placed upon the proscribed list. While waiting for inevitable changes, it is interesting to watch the ascension of national schools and the turning of the eyes of young filmmakers towards the West.

"Finally, we can see that while Chinese cinema, under the aegis of the Party, remains in distressing mediocrity, the young Cuban cinema, allowed greater latitude, is already showing proof of talent and maturity."

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"How did we get from Andy Hardy to *The Graduate* and from *Pajama Party in a Haunted House* to *Alice's Restaurant?*"

CINEMA ENGAGE. Recent years have seen trend toward political and social commentary in films. Above, scene from Marat/Sade, one of most successful of such films.

Ruthe Stein gives her answer in terms of Hollywood's declining financial situation and its consequent financial desperation conjoined with the youth radicalization and the fact that the great bulk of the movie-going audience happens to be under 30. This forces Hollywood to make better movies directed at an audience with socially conscious expectations that is acutely aware of the problems of its own generation.

Andy Hardy just doesn't make it any more.

(Subs are $2 a year. Send to *Cineaste,* 27 W. 11 St., N. Y. C. 10011.)

—MALACHI CONSTANT

How paranoid can you get? — In a profile of Lt. Gen. Do Cao Tri, head man for the Saigon forces in Cambodia, the *New York Times* recalls when the late dictator Diem arrested one of Tri's associates and held him in the presidential palace. Diem released the prisoner when Tri advised him he would dispatch his airborne battalion to bomb the palace. The *Times* reports, "President Diem never trusted the young officer after that."

Securing the flag — Five young Philadelphians were charged with desecrating the flag for allegedly using Old Glory as a picnic blanket. An enthusiastic patriotic judge set bail at $25,000 each but reduced it to $1,000 each after consultation with the D. A., who is apparently soft on flagsitters.

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Serving the people — In its efforts to "serve the important youth market," Greyhound is offering direct service from a number of campuses to major cities. Could prove a handy getaway when there's a police riot.

Favors socialist realism? — "Art must have an educational function. It must not be merely pleasing and interesting, much less frivolous, seductive or capricious, but must be aware of its ethical and social responsibility." — Pope Paul VI.

— HARRY RING

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New gusano attack; L.A. police arrest 3

LOS ANGELES, June 9—The Los Angeles Police Department is holding three counterrevolutionary Cuban *gusanos* who were arraigned today on three counts of arson, conspiracy to commit arson, and burglary. One of the three is being held on two other counts of arson and burglary for his alleged role in recent attacks on the Haymarket and the Los Angeles election campaign headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party.

The arrests came after three *gusanos* [worms] were captured by police in a new armed arson assault which took place on the Ashgrove, a local radical coffeehouse, on Sunday, June 7.

In this latest terrorist action, three unmasked *gusanos* armed with loaded .45 caliber automatics entered the Ashgrove at 8162 Melrose Ave. at approximately 7 p.m. There were three persons there at the time, who were cleaning the place for an evening performance.

The pattern of the attack was similar to the May 27 attack on the Socialist Workers Party campaign headquarters [see *The Militant*, June 12]. The *gusanos* ordered the three people present at gunpoint to lie down on the floor. One of the three was able to flee the building without harm. Gordon Alexander of the Ashgrove staff was sprayed with some Mace-like liquid. The other victim, Lee Stone, was luckily unharmed.

at the Ashgrove last week for the rebuilding of the Haymarket and said, "This is your benefit."

The three men then ran out of the building into a red and white car and drove about a block before being stopped by a Los Angeles police car. According to Sgt. Loust of the Criminal Conspiracy Division of the L. A. Police Department, who has been assigned both this case and the one involving the attack on the SWP, it was pure "coincidence" that the L. A. police car happened to be there at the time the three men ran out of the burning building.

The club was neither advertising nor projecting any activity directly related to the Cuban revolution at the time of the attack.

The three suspects being held by police are, according to the June 8 *Los Angeles Times*, Mario Pelaz, 32, Renaldo Gonzales, 18, and Renaldo Castro, 25. All are residents of the Los Angeles area. Police would not identify which of the three is also being held in connection with the attacks on the Haymarket and the SWP. Bail was set at $15,000 each.

Police would not explain why, if they were investigating what they termed an "attempted murder" after the attack on the SWP, no such charge was brought against the suspects in this latest attack. Nor would they explain why none of the charges spec-

SWP gains broad support in response to L. A. attack

The following excerpts are from an appeal for solidarity and financial support issued by leaders of the union, antiwar, student, civil liberties and Third World movements in behalf of the Los Angeles Socialist Workers Party following the arson assault on its headquarters May 27.

* * *

. . .This attack was encouraged by the climate of official violence and suppression of ideas created by the genocidal war against Indochina waged in the name of "anticommunism" and the cold-blooded murders in Kent, Augusta and Jackson. When the Los Angeles Police Department has made no arrests or convictions in the last five attacks or in the case of the Haymarket, is it any wonder that these petty and would-be political tyrants feel secure and emboldened. It is clear that the forces of the established order must bear major responsibility for the attack.

This is an attack on the entire movement for social justice. It is an attack on the massive movement against the war. It is an attack on the right to express dissident views during election campaigns. In fact, it is an attack on the very right to dissent; an attack on the most basic civil liberties of all people. . . .

Money is now needed to back up that energy and determination [displayed by the SWP campaign supporters] and to restore this movement organizing center. We must show the attackers that

ment without the whole movement responding to rebuild. We must show that an attack on dissent anywhere will be treated as an attack on all dissent.

While we the undersigned do not necessarily agree with the views of the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, or their 1970 California Election Campaign, we join them in this appeal as an act of solidarity with them in the face of this heinous attack.

Leonard Levy, Vice President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, AFL-CIO; John Parker, Editor in Chief, UCLA **Daily Bruin**; Lewis McCammon, Peace and Freedom candidate for U.S. Congress, 26th dist.; Allen Zak, **People's World**; John T. Williams, Vice President and Business Representative, International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 208; Carol Lipman, National Executive Secretary, Student Mobilization Committee; Ben Leeds, Treasurer, California Democratic Council; Prof. Timothy Harding, Cal State Los Angeles; Paul Perlin, International Board Member, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; Blase Bonpane, candidate for U.S. Congress, 30th dist.; Rev. Reed, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Raphael Konigsberg, Peace Action Council Executive Board; Malcolm Dobbs, President, Social Services Union, Local 535, AFL-CIO; Margaret Wright, Welfare Rights Organization; Pedro Arias, Committee on Latin American Solidarity; Charles Garry, Attorney; Prof. Arthur Carstens, UCLA; Terrence Hallinan, Attorney; Rev. Cecil

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The *gusanos* beat Alexander with some unknown object while he lay choking on the floor. Then the three assailants spread a flammable liquid around, ignited it and fled. There is fire and smoke damage to the electrical system, walls and offices.

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A court date for the three has been set for June 22, 1970.

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N.Y. Panther 21

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A court date for the three has been set for June 22, 1970.

As soon as they learned of the attack and the subsequent arrests, victims of the assault on the SWP sent

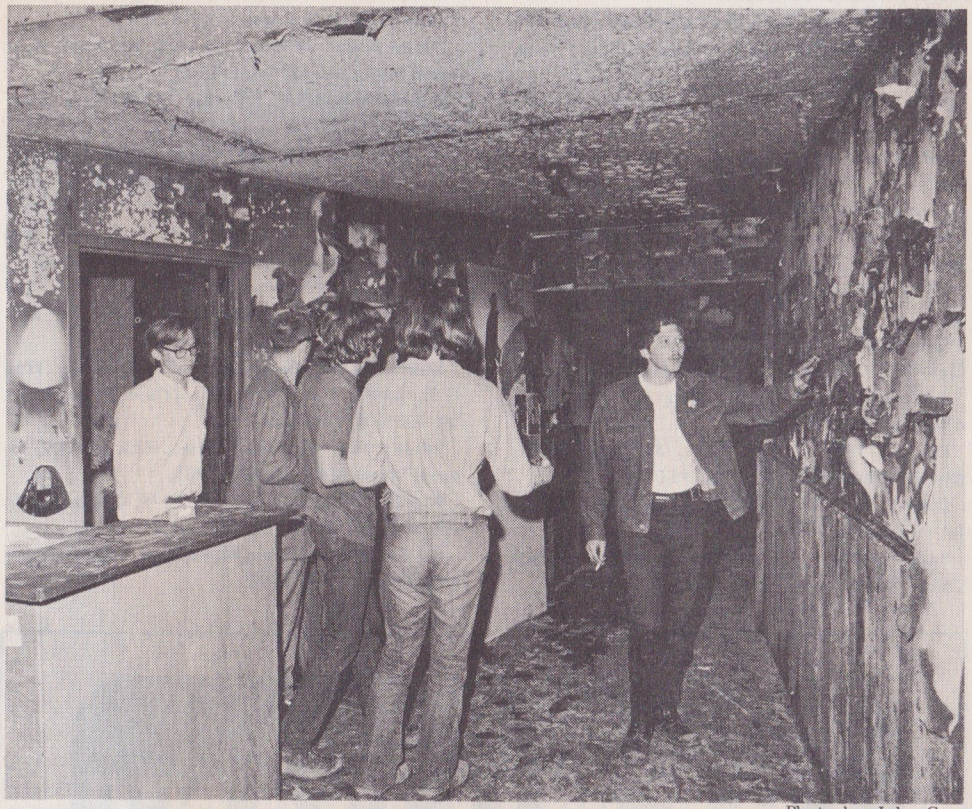

Photo by John Gray

Fire damage in the Ashgrove following gusano arson attack.

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EMMET L EDWARDS JR
6141½ ROMAINE ST
LOS ANGELES CAL 90038

a wire to Deputy Chief Roger Murdock of the L. A. Police Department offering full cooperation in identifying the Ashgrove attackers. Peter Seidman, SWP organizer and one of the victims, went down to the Hollywood Station where the three were being held on the evening of the arrests and offered to try to identify the attackers for any connection with the assault on the SWP hall. He was told by Sgt. Loust, "Your being here now is just fouling us up. You are preventing us from doing our job."

On June 8, the police arranged a lineup in which those captured Sunday evening appeared before witnesses of the attacks on the Haymarket, the SWP and the Ashgrove.

The L. A. Police Department has also indicated that it has obtained descriptions of the cars involved in the attack on the SWP and is obtaining a list of all possible vehicles meeting those descriptions from its computer. Sgt. Luna, one of the men assigned to handle both the Ashgrove and SWP cases, indicated that they would check the entire list for possible leads.

This increased level of police activity on the case, as well as these first arrests in a *gusano* attack on the radical movement, indicate that the police department and city administration are beginning to respond to the pressure being generated by the newly formed Citizens' Committee for the Right of Free Political Expression. The committee is seeking sponsors and raising funds on the basis of its two purposes:

- Mobilize a campaign of public pressure and legal action to secure the arrest and conviction of those responsible for the May 27, 1970, arson and attempted murder attack on the election headquarters of the SWP;
- Solicit financial support for this campaign.

The temporary address of the committee is 7813 Beverly Blvd., Los Angeles, Calif. 90036. Its temporary phone number is (213) 262-4670.

N.Y. Panther 21 hearings close

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEW YORK, June 8 — Preliminary hearings to the trial of the Panther 21 came to a close here today.

Between now and the end of the summer, defense and prosecuting attorneys will be preparing arguments concerning the suppression of illegally obtained evidence — guns, posters and other materials were seized in the raids on Panther homes on April 2, 1969, and wiretapped conversations were obtained from October 1968 to March 1969. Defense attorneys have 19 motions to develop in favor of suppressing, while the prosecutor will attempt to rebut their arguments.

The Court of Appeals in Albany turned down two defense motions. One concerned the selection of Murtagh as the trial judge, and the other dealt with the way the grand jury that indicted the Panthers was selected. The reason for denying the latter amounted to the racist explanation that it was too bad Black people had such poor paying jobs that didn't allow many to take time for grand jury duty.

Last Wednesday, defense brought to the stand a Black law student from Rutgers who had prepared a chart which illustrated how most grand jurors over the past three years were picked from white areas.

Thirteen of the 21 Panthers are on trial now. They are being framed on charges of conspiracy to bomb department stores and police stations. The preliminary hearings began Feb. 2 of this year.

People are urged to obtain defense pamphlets and materials from: The Committee to Defend the Panther 21, 11 E. 16th St., New York, N.Y. 10003.